

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

REPORT

OF THE

WAR CABINET COMMITTEE

ON

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

(Appendices printed in separate Volume.)

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.



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Copy of Minute of Appointment.

WAR CABINET COMMITTEE ON WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

I appoint the following to serve as a Committee to investigate and report upon the relation which should be maintained between the wages of women and men, having regard to the interests of both, as well as to the value of their work. The recommendations should have in view the necessity of output during the war, and the progress and well-being of industry in the future:—

Sir JAMES RICHARD ATKIN, Kt. (Chairman).

Miss J. M. CAMPBELL, M.D.

Sir LYNDEN LIVINGSTONE MACASSEY, K.C., K.B.E.

Sir WILLIAM W. MACKENZIE, K.C., K.B.E.

Lt.-Col. the Rt. Hon. SIR MATTHEW NATHAN, G.C.M.G.

and

Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB.

And I appoint—

Lt.-Col. the Rt. Hon. SIR MATTHEW NATHAN, G.C.M.G.

to be Secretary,

and

Mr. J. C. STOBART,

to be Assistant Secretary to the Committee.

(Signed) D. LLOYD GEORGE,
Prime Minister.

Dated this fifth day of September, 1918.

940.4

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BY MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

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B. Circular L.2.—

- (i) Recommendations relating to the employment and remuneration of women on munition work of a class which, prior to the war, was not recognised as women's work in districts where such work was customarily carried on.

- (ii) Munitions of War Act, 1915, Schedule II.

C. The Consolidated Order—

Statutory Rules and Orders, 1918, No. 546.

PART I.

INTRODUCTION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. Circumstances that led to appointment of Committee and first reference to it.—The Committee on Production, which had been appointed to deal with Labour Supply questions in the early days of the war, was by the Munitions of War Act, 1915, constituted a body to which differences between employers and persons employed might be referred. On the 9th July, 1918, the Committee made an award in a difference between certain Tramway and Omnibus Companies and the National Transport Workers' Federation. Subsequently to the issue of this award, the employees of the London General Omnibus Company and certain other Transport Companies in the London area, struck work expressing dissatisfaction with the terms of the award, in as much as, by giving to men and not to women a war wage advance in consideration of the bonus of 12½ per cent. that had been granted to other men workers, it had failed to secure that equal total payments should be made to women and men for equal work in the Tramway and Omnibus undertakings. The workers further pressed for consideration of the question of the relation of the wages of men and women. The matter was again referred by the Ministry of Labour to the Committee on Production who, on the 29th August, awarded a further advance to women equivalent to that which they had previously given to men in full settlement of their claim with respect to the bonus of 12½ per cent. As regards (1) the base rate of wage and (2) the additions made thereto since the outbreak of war by way of war bonus or war wage advance with a view to meeting the increased cost of living, the Committee reported as follows:—

“The claim submitted covering these items is put forward in such a form as to involve the determination of a general principle applicable, if adopted and established, not only to women employed on tramways and motor omnibuses, but to women employed in many other industries. Such a principle can only be decided on a national basis, after full, comprehensive and detailed investigation, with due regard to the far-reaching financial and economic considerations involved and after hearing all interests that would be affected, including those women (if any) engaged in other industries whose interests might be considered by them to be affected. The Committee therefore recommend that the whole question of women's wages and advances should be made the subject of a special inquiry, in which women can take part, and at which all the facts and circumstances which must be taken into account before any general guiding principle can be safely or properly formulated may be fully investigated and considered.”

Pending the issue of the Committee on Production's further award, the Government had had represented to them the effect on the national expenditure, on the future output of munitions, and on the further substitution of men by women in industry, of giving in all establishments where munitions work was being carried on men's wages and advances to all women employed on men's work and of the rise which would have to follow in the payment to women on women's work. In

view of the importance of the issue, not only in connection with the conduct of the war but also as affecting the future welfare of women workers in this Country, the War Cabinet decided on the appointment of a special Committee to examine it. This decision was announced in the Press on the 1st September, the terms of reference being as follows:—

“To investigate and report on the relation which should be maintained between the wages of women and men having regard to the interests of both as well as to the value of their work. The recommendations should have in view the necessity of output during the war, and the progress and well-being of industry in the future.”

This reference is dealt with in Part II. of the Report now respectfully submitted.

2. Subsequent reference.—In the early days of the Committee's enquiry they received information indicative of some dissatisfaction of women in industry arising from the allegation that effect had not been given to a Government pledge made to all industrial workers and contained in a memorandum on Acceleration of Output on Government Work, dated the 19th March, 1915, known as the Treasury Agreement. This pledge was stated to have been that all women who should do the work hitherto done by men should receive the full wages (including advances) of the men whose work they undertook. The Committee reported this allegation as to breaches of pledge to the War Cabinet on the 14th October and, after some correspondence, were asked on the 1st November to undertake an investigation of the questions of fact involved by the allegations. The result of this investigation is set forth in Part III. of the present Report.

3. Alterations in circumstances since original and subsequent references.—The signing of the Armistice on the 11th November, 1918, has necessarily modified that part of the original reference to the Committee which stated that their recommendations were to have in view the necessity of output during the war. Involving also a repeal of the Women's Wages clauses of the Munitions of War Act, the suspension of hostilities required an interim arrangement continuing for a period the rates of wages paid to women whether under Munitions of War Acts, Statutory Orders or Awards, or under Agreements between employers and Trade Unions, or by the practice of employers employing a majority of women or girls engaged in the same class of work. This continuation, on the advice of a Committee presided over by Sir John Simon, was embodied in the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, for a period of six months expiring on the 20th May, 1919.

Another fact occurring since the reference to the Committee which has a bearing on that reference is the fixing by the Government of an unemployment donation for men and women which was originally (from 25th November, 1918,) 24s. per week for the former and 20s. for the latter, with 6s. for the first and 3s. for each succeeding dependent child, and was subsequently (from 12th December, 1918,) increased to 29s. for men and 25s. for women, the allowance for dependent children remaining the same. On renewal after 13 weeks the amount of the donation is reduced to 20s. for men and 15s. for women.

Since the Committee's opinions on the subject of the reference to them were formed and formulated in the draft of the present Report, a Joint Provisional Committee of the Industrial Conference called by the Government at the end of February last has made recommendations on the subject of minimum wages.

4. Alteration in constitution of Committee.—The original membership of the Committee was as set forth on the cover of this Report. At the suggestion of the Rt. Hon. Dr. Addison, M.P., and in order that the Committee should be kept informed of proceedings bearing on their enquiry in the Ministry of Reconstruction (which had a special Women's Employment Committee), Mr. J. L. Hammond, of that Ministry, was added to the Committee on Women in Industry on 15th October. On the 19th November, Mr. Hammond, having accepted employment in Paris in connection with the Peace Conference there, resigned from the Committee and no other representative of the Ministry of Reconstruction was appointed in his place.

5. Sitzings of Committee and Evidence taken by them.—The Committee sat on 53 occasions between the 3rd October, 1918, and the 1st April, 1919. At 44 meetings they heard 121 witnesses or groups of witnesses including representatives of the Government Departments most concerned in the employment of labour (Ministry of Munitions, Admiralty, War Office, Ministry of Labour, Post Office and Board of Education), Societies and Unions representing women's interests generally and the interests of women in industry, domestic service, commercial and clerical occupations; General Unions representing men and women in industry; Employers' Federations and Trade Unions in most of the principal trades in which women were employed before the war or were largely taken on in substitution for men during the war. The Committee had the assistance of the Ministry of Labour in the selection of their witnesses representing industry, and in cases where it was not possible to get oral evidence from those they were advised to hear, they invited written statements. Summaries of oral evidence and written statements are printed as Appendix I. to this Report. In this Appendix the evidence of the witnesses in each category is kept together, that relating to individual industries being arranged in order of occupational groups and of trades as generally given in Board of Trade Returns. At the end are set forth the questions to which the written statements embody replies.

6. Statements obtained from Economists.—The Committee also obtained written statements from several economists of eminence in reply to questions. These statements, followed by the questions, are printed as Appendix II.

7. Special enquiry into Health of Women in Industry.—At the beginning of the Committee's enquiry, it was intimated to them that it should take special cognisance of the conditions of industry likely to prejudice the health of women and of their children and that they should make recommendations for the amelioration of these conditions. With this in view the medical member of the Committee conducted a special enquiry and heard the evidence of 30 witnesses, including physiologists, men and women medical practitioners, medical officers of health, women medical superintendents of factories, women factory inspectors and welfare workers. Summaries of the evidence of these witnesses are given in Appendix III. Dr. Janet Campbell also interrogated the general witnesses who appeared before the Committee on matters affecting her special investigation. The results of that investigation are embodied in her Memorandum printed at the end of this volume. The various recommendations it contains are dealt with in the body of this Report.

8. Documents relative to fulfilment of Government Pledges.—Appendix IV. is a collection of documents relating to Part III. of the Report.

9. Assistance received by Committee.—The Committee are greatly indebted to Mr. J. C. Stobart, their Assistant Secretary, and to Mrs. Bernard Drake for assistance given in the compilation of the historical chapters of Part II. of the Report, and to the former for many useful suggestions and for the arrangements made to secure for them the evidence they required, arrangements which presented special difficulty in the busy weeks preceding and following the end of the war. They have also to express their thanks to Lieut. R. N. Eichholz and Lieut. A. Green, M.C., for their work in summarising this evidence.

10. Recommendations as to principles that should govern future Relation between Men's and Women's Wages.—The Committee's conclusions are contained in Chapters V. and VI. of Part II. and at the end of Part III. Their recommendations can be conveniently summarised here, and as regards the principles that should govern the future relation between men's and women's wages (Chapter VI. of Part II.) are as follows:—

(1) That women doing similar or the same work as men should receive equal pay for equal work in the sense that pay should be in proportion to efficient output. This covers the principle that on systems of payment by results equal payment should be made to women as to men for an equal amount of work done.

(2) That the relative value of the work done by women and men on time on the same or similar jobs should be agreed between employers and Trade Unions acting through the recognised channels of negotiation, as, for instance, Trade Boards or Joint Industrial Councils.

(3) That where it is desired to introduce women to do the whole of a man's job and it is recognised that either immediately or after a probationary period they are of efficiency equal to that of the men, they should be paid either immediately or after a probationary period, the length and conditions of which should be definitely laid down, the men's time rate.

(4) That where there has been sub-division of a man's job or work without any *bona fide* simplification of processes or machine and a woman is put on to do a part only of the job or work, the wages should be regulated so that the labour cost to the employer of the whole job should not be lessened while the payment to the persons engaged on it should be proportioned to their respective labour contributions.

(5) That where the introduction of women follows on *bona fide* simplification of process or machine, the time rates for the simplified process or simplified machine should be determined as if this was to be allocated to male labour less skilled than the male labour employed before simplification, and women, if their introduction is agreed to, should only receive less than the unskilled man's rate if, and to the extent that, their work is of less value.

(6) That in every case in which the employer maintains that a woman's work produces less than a man's, the burden of proof should rest on the employer, who should also have to produce evidence of the lower value of the woman's work to which the fixed sum to be deducted from the man's rate for the particular job throughout the whole of the industry should strictly correspond.

(7) That every job on which women are employed doing the same work as men for less wages should be considered a man's job for the purpose of fixing women's wages, and the wages should be regulated in the manner above recommended.

(8) That the employment of women in commercial and clerical occupations especially requires regulation in accordance with the principle of "equal pay for equal work."

(9) That in order to maintain the principle of "equal pay for equal work" in cases where it is essential to employ men and women of the same grade, capacity and training, but where equal pay will not attract the same grade of man as of woman, it may be necessary to counteract the difference of attractiveness by the payment to married men of children's allowances, and that this subject should receive careful consideration from His Majesty's Government in connection with payments to teachers to which the Government contribute.

(10) That the principle of "equal pay for equal work" should be early and fully adopted for the manipulative branches of the Civil Service and that in the case of Post Office duties, the question of the men having late hours or night work should be provided for by an extra allowance to persons undertaking common duties under disagreeable conditions.

(11) That this principle with regard to allowances to persons undertaking common duties under disagreeable conditions should be applied also to industry.

(12) That if the Treasury enquiry advocated by the Royal Commission on the Civil Service with the object of removing inequalities of salary not based on differences in the efficiency of the services has not yet been held, it should be put in hand with the least possible delay.

(13) That the separate grades and separate examinations for women clerks in the Civil Service should be abolished, but that the Government Departments should retain within their discretion the proportion of women to be employed in any branch or grade.

(14) That the Government should support the application to industry of the principle of "equal pay for equal work" by applying it with the least possible delay to their own establishments, and that as soon as any relation between the wages of men and women in any occupation or job has been agreed between employers and Trade Unions acting through the recognised channels of negotiation, the maintenance of that relation should be a condition of any Government contract involving the employment of workpeople in that occupation or job.

11. Recommendations as to principles that should govern future Employment and Wages of Women.*—The Committee's recommendations as regards the principles that should govern the future employment and wages of women (Chapter V. of Part II.) are as follows:—

(15) That in those trade processes and occupations which the experience of the war has shown to be suitable for the employment of women, employers and trade unions acting through the recognised channels of negotiation should make possible the introduction of women by agreements which would ensure, in the manner above indicated, that this did not result in the displacement of men by reason of the women's cheapness to the employer.

* Sir William Mackenzie dissents from recommendations (18) to (26). See note on p. 335.

(16) That with a view to improving the health and so increasing the efficiency of women in industry—

- (i) there should be a substantial reform and extension in scope of the Factory and Workshops Acts, with special reference to (a) the reduction in the hours of work (including arrangement of spells and pauses, overtime, night work); (b) the provision of seats, labour-saving devices, &c., to avoid unnecessary fatigue; (c) an improved standard of sanitation (sanitary conveniences, lavatories, cloakrooms, &c.), ventilation and general hygiene; (d) the provision of canteens, rest-rooms and surgeries; (e) the general supervision of the health of the workers individually and collectively; and (f) the conditions under which adolescents should be employed;
- (ii) the present Factory Medical Department at the Home Office should at once be strengthened by the appointment of an adequate and suitable staff of women medical inspectors of factories and that a considerable increase should be made to the present staff of lay women factory inspectors;
- (iii) a local factory medical service should be established with duties of supervision, investigation and research intimately co-ordinated with the School Medical Service under the Local Education Authority, the Public Health Service under the Local Sanitary Authority, and the Medical Service under the National Insurance Act or Ministry of Health when established.

(17) That the Ministry of Labour, with which should rest the duty of ascertaining both nationally and locally the demand for trained persons in any trade or occupation, should, through Central and Local Trade Advisory Committees, assist Local Education Authorities in determining the technical instruction which should be provided for women.

(18) That in order to secure and maintain physical health and efficiency no normal woman should be employed for less than a reasonable subsistence wage.

(19) That this wage should be sufficient to provide a single woman over 18 years of age in a typical district where the cost of living is low with an adequate dietary, with lodging to include fuel and light in a respectable house not more than half an hour's journey, including tram or train, from the place of work, with clothing sufficient for warmth, cleanliness and decent appearance, with money for fares, insurance and Trade Union subscriptions, and with a reasonable sum for holidays, amusements, &c.

(20) That there should be additions to this wage for women working in the larger towns and in London to cover the greater cost of living there.

(21) That this wage should be adjusted periodically to meet variation in the cost of living.

(22) That the determination of the basic subsistence wage should be by a specially constituted authority which should also determine variations from it to meet the conditions of different districts and of different times or in rare cases special conditions of trade.

(23) That the subsistence wage so determined should be established by statute to take effect immediately on the expiry of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, or any prolongation of it and to apply to the employment for gain in all occupations (other than domestic service) for which a minimum wage has not been determined by an Industrial Council or by a Trade Board or other Statutory Authority.

(24) That the Government should give consideration to the question of adopting a scheme of mothers' pensions for widows and for deserted wives with children, and for the wives with children of men physically or mentally disabled, such pensions to be granted only after investigation where there is need and subject to supervision, and otherwise to be administered on the lines followed for pensions granted to the widows of men deceased in war.

(25) That the Department or Departments of Government concerned should draw up for the consideration of the Government a scheme by which the entire direct costs involved by the lying-in of women under thoroughly satisfactory conditions should be provided by the State.

(26) That a scale of wages should be established for girls 2s. a week less than the women's subsistence wage, for each year under 18, and that no girl should be employed for gain at lower rates than those of this scale unless a duly constituted authority, such as a Trade Board or Industrial Council, fixes such lower rate where the employment is of the nature of an apprenticeship. Also that the question of girls and boys under 16 working on piece should be specially considered by the Department or Departments of Government concerned with a view to the definite abolition of such working if it is found to be detrimental to health.

(27) That the Government should continue to give the strongest possible support to proposals for the international regulation of labour conditions, which should lessen the danger of the foreign trade of this country being injured as a result of the employment of underpaid labour abroad.

12. Recommendations arising out of Allegations as to Non-fulfilment of Government Pledges.—In connection with the doubts and difficulties that arose with regard to the fulfilment of the Treasury Agreement (Part III.), the Committee strongly recommend:—

(28) That whenever industrial questions directly or indirectly affecting the interests of women are discussed under the auspices of a Government Department, that Department should be responsible for seeing that there are women present who can adequately represent these interests.

(29) That the Department or Departments that make contracts on behalf of the Government should place the Ministry of Labour in a position to exercise on their behalf through the Ministry's local officers some supervision over the due carrying out of the conditions of the Fair Wages Clause and that the Ministry should undertake this supervision.

(30) That the assistance of expert draftsmanship should always be available to those negotiating important industrial agreements.

(31) That in all cases in which agreements are entered into between employers and Trade Union representatives under the auspices of a Government Department, copies of any shorthand notes that may have been made should be supplied to the parties concerned for record.

PART II.

RELATION BETWEEN THE WAGES OF WOMEN AND MEN.

CHAPTER I.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN BEFORE THE WAR.

13. **Changes in Employment between 1861 and 1911.**—The extent of the employment of women in industry before the war and during the industrial revolution is dealt with briefly at the beginning of Chapter II. in connection with the historical relation of their wages to those of men and need not be referred to here. But before surveying the general position of women industrially employed as it was immediately before the war, it may be convenient that an indication should be given of the alterations which, in the preceding half century, had been taking place in the relative numbers of men and women engaged in different occupations. Such an indication is available from an examination of the census returns for past decennial periods, though owing to the different classifications that have been adopted from time to time it can, as a rule, only be trusted for main groups of occupations.*

Considering in the first instance "industries proper," it would appear that the proportion of women to men in what we now call the *Metal Trades*, inconsiderable until near the end of last century, actually declined between 1861 and 1881. It was only with the development of automatic machinery in the nineties that women entered general engineering on drilling and milling machines and in small engineering shops. New trades in which work was comparatively light such as cycle making and some branches of electrical engineering tended to favour their employment. Of two declining trades—nail and chain making—the former retained an almost constant proportion between men and women while the latter showed a proportional decrease in the number of men. Women had left the brass trade about 1871 but came back with the introduction of light machines. The proportion of women employed in the *Chemical Trades* steadily increased from about 1 in 15½ in 1861 to 1 in 3½ in 1911. In the *Textile Trades*, where 60 years ago about the same number of men and women were employed, just before the war the proportion was about four women to three men. The proportion of the population engaged in all branches of the *Textile Trades* decreased steadily, and the relative number of women employed in the main branches of Cotton and Wool and in Silk increased slowly; in Hosiery and in the manufacture of Hemp, Jute, &c., and of Carpets, Rugs, &c., the increase was considerable after 1881, but in the Lace Trade there was a large displacement of women by men, probably as a result of the introduction of machine-made lace. In the *Clothing Trades*, not including laundries, the proportion of women to men increased between 1861 and 1881 and afterwards remained steady at roughly seven women to four men. The proportion of the population engaged in the *Clothing Trades* went down. Through laundry work passing from a hand to a machine industry the total number employed relative to population also declined and there was a slight displacement of women by men. In the *Food, Drink and Tobacco Trades* in which there were 4½ men to one woman in 1861 the proportion fell to about 2 to 1 in 1911, the principal change

* Cd. 7018 and The Women's Industrial News, October, 1915.

being in tobacco, which from mainly (nearly four-fifths) a male became mainly (nearly three-fifths) a female trade. Whereas nearly four times as many men as women were employed in the *Paper and Printing Trades* in 1861, the proportion in 1911 was less than two to one in spite of the change having been (owing, it is said, to trade union action), in the opposite direction in the case of actual paper manufacture, a heavy manual trade. The numerical preponderance of men in printing appreciably declined and in bookbinding disappeared. French polishing, upholstering and brushmaking were the principal *Wood Trades* in which women were engaged, and only in the last did their numbers in relation to those of the men notably increase during the last 30 years of the period. In the *Brick, Cement, Pottery and Glass Trades* taken together there was a slight decrease in the superior proportion of males employed and, in pottery only, this proportion went down from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to not quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ subsequently to 1891, the decrease being attributed to greater use of machinery, particularly in the manufacture of small plates. The proportion of women working glass remained constant and small. The employment of women in the working of *Skin and Leather* steadily increased. In *Mines and Quarries* it remained insignificant.

Outside industry proper there was, prior to 1911, some decrease in the very large preponderance of females in *Domestic Service*. *Agriculture*, but for the daughters and other relatives of farmers assisting in the work of the farm, and *Fisheries*, remained almost entirely male occupations. In *Commerce* women, who are said to have first entered the drapery trade during the Crimean War,* had become very numerous as shop assistants. The proportion of women to men commercial *Clerks* grew enormously. Between 1881 and 1911 the number of men rather more than doubled (from 175,000) and that of women multiplied 20-fold (from 6,000), clerks above 35 remaining mainly men. Taking the *Professional Classes* to include teachers, sick nurses, midwives, &c., the proportion of women to men went up from about two to three in 1861 to one to one in 1911, the proportion in the teaching profession remaining constant. In the service of the *National and Local Government* there was a much larger diminution of male preponderance.

Dealing now with the general changes between 1881 and 1911, it has to be noted that the proportion of men in occupations went up from 83·31 to 83·85 or about ·5 per cent. while that of women in occupations went down from 34·05 to 32·51 or about 1·5 per cent. In the same period the proportion of men in industry proper went up from 43·38 to 47·59 or over 4 per cent., and that of women from 15·47 to 15·96 or about ·5 per cent. The fact that the proportion of women in all occupations went down while that of women in industry proper went up is mainly accounted for by a relative decline in the numbers of women engaged in domestic service and agriculture. The proportion of occupied men to occupied women has only varied from 2·3 to 2·4 and of men in industry proper to women in industry proper has remained constant at 3 in spite of the considerable increase in the proportion of women in particular industries. This is accounted for by the actual increases of women in those industries being inconsiderable compared with the actual numbers and increases of both men and women in occupations in general or in industry proper.

Still there is no doubt that the enlargement of women's operations went on with increasing rapidity from 1901 onward. Between that

* *Women's Industrial News*, April, 1916.

year and 1911 the numbers working on metals, machines, &c., had increased by 52·4 per cent., and on paper, books, stationery and prints, by 30·8 per cent. against an increase of female population over 10 of 12·6 per cent. In the same period the increase in the numbers employed in the textile trades had only just kept up with the increase in population while those employed in the clothing trades, including laundries, and in domestic service had fallen considerably below that increase. Domestic service was also tending to become less domestic in its nature.*

14. Distribution of Women and Proportion of Women to Men in Occupations in July, 1914.—The proportions and percentages quoted above are based on returns from England and Wales only, but probably would not differ greatly if taken for the whole of the United Kingdom. The distribution of women in occupations in the wider area just before the commencement of the war (July, 1914) according to Board of Trade figures was approximately:—

Numbers of Women Working.

On their own account or as employers	430,000
In industry	2,178,600
In domestic service	1,658,000
In commerce, &c.	505,500
In National and Local Government, including education	262,200
In agriculture	190,000
In employment of hotels, public houses, theatres, &c.	181,000
In other, including professional employment and as home workers	560,700
In occupations	5,966,000
Not in occupations, but over 10	12,946,000
Under 10	4,809,000
Total Females	23,721,000

In industry proper the distribution of men and women in the different trades at that time was as follows:—

Trades.	Men.	Women	Proportion of men to women.
Metal	1,634,000	170,500	Nearly 10 to 1
Chemical	159,000	40,000	4 " 1
Textile	625,000	863,000	3 " 4
Clothing	287,000	612,000	4 " 9
Food, drink and tobacco	360,000	196,000	9 " 5
Paper and printing	261,000	147,500	Over 5 " 3
Wood	258,000	44,000	6 " 1
China and earthenware	50,000	32,000	5 " 3
Leather... ..	72,000	23,100	3 " 1
Other	2,520,000	49,000	50 " 1
Government establishments	75,000	2,000	37½ " 1
Total	6,301,000	2,178,600	3 to 1

* "Women in Modern Industry," by B. L. Hutchins, 1915, p. 84, *et seq.*

15. **Metals.**—In the *Metal Trades* before the war women were employed in tin-plate; in wire drawing, in the making of chains, nails, bolts, nuts, screws, rivets, springs, &c.; in light castings and allied trades (tinned and japanned goods, hardware, holloware, &c.); in general engineering; in electrical engineering; in cutlery and metal smallware (including needles, pins, &c.) and in the working of metal other than iron and steel.

It is not possible to indicate every process in which women were engaged in these trades, but generally it would appear that as regards Tin-plate they were employed in pickling and preparing the plates for the tin bath. In Chain-making they made the smaller hand-hammered chains used mainly for agricultural purposes.

They fed Nail cutting and Tack machines, worked in the Black Country and Birmingham on light machines for turning, screwing and pointing Bolts and for facing and tapping Nuts (but not on forging bolts and nuts or cutting nuts); also on machines for worming and turning Screws and for making and turning Rivets. They were employed in the warehouse packing and bagging all these articles. Male tool setters set the machines and kept them in running order.

As regards Light Castings, the only work done to any extent by women in connection with foundries appears to have been light core-making, while in many descriptions of holloware and cast-iron goods, they were engaged in finishing processes such as mounting, painting, polishing, blacking, and packing.

In General Engineering women were employed before the war in specialised factories in the Midland Districts on capstan lathe small repetition work, power and hand presses, stamping, plain drilling and milling, plating, soldering sheet metal work, enamelling, tube threading, assembling and polishing and on the inspection, store-keeping and packing of the goods turned out. They worked machines for the production of several components required for small arm ammunition and in the Birmingham and Newcastle districts they worked on such articles as sporting cartridges, shell accessories, and to some extent on light shells, though women ceased to be engaged on this work at Elswick before the war. In Electrical Engineering they were employed in the manufacture of electric meters and dynamos, lamps, fittings, switches, and other details.

In the Cycle and Motor trade they constituted over half the work-people engaged on light milling, drilling, capstan operations and hand press work and nearly half of those marking, assembling and inspecting chain parts and light components. There was no clear demarcation between men's and women's work.

In the Sheffield Light trades women were employed before the war in the manufacture of hacksaws (shearing and milling to a limited extent, punching, setting and marking); files (hand and machine cutting on small work); cutlery (various operations in the pen and pocket knife; table knife, razor and scissors departments); silver and electro plate (spoon and fork buffing, burnishing, polishing, filing); edge tools (turning and french polishing of wood handles); and saws (handle rubbing and polishing). In addition women were generally employed in warehouses and on other non-productive work. On productive work their employment was as a rule in different classes of work to those on which the men were engaged.

In the Metal Smallware trades women have always been employed in feeding and minding machines making pins, hooks, eyes, buttons,

&c., on hand or power presses and in wrapping, parcelling and attaching the various articles to cards. Men have done the toolmaking and the setting of machines and presses.

In the Brass trade before the war women were engaged on light machines as well as on polishing, lacquering and wrapping up.

16. Chemicals.—The *Chemical Trades* employed a quarter as many women as men before the war and none in Heavy Chemicals except in the making up of small retail packages, the putting up of salt in packets, tins and jars and the sewing up with twine of bags containing salt. In the Fine Chemical and Drug industries, girls and women were employed chiefly in filling, labelling and finishing packets of fine chemicals, compressed drugs and pharmaceutical products, and to a limited extent in the manufacture of drugs; also in the sorting and washing of bottles and cleaning glass apparatus. The comparatively few women in the Seed-Crushing trade were engaged on cake wrapping and in mending, sorting and sewing sacks. No women were employed in the Royal Gunpowder Factory before the war. At different private Explosive factories women were employed teasing cotton, preparing gun-cotton for cordite, paste mixing for cordite, reeling of cordite bobbins, and weighing, blending and packing cordite, and making blasting cartridges. The proportion of females to the whole number of employees appears in some cases to have gone up to 25 per cent. The duties of the young women and girls who had been employed in Soap Works for many years were confined to the stamping, wrapping and packing of laundry and toilet soaps, the packeting of soap powders, the finishing and packing of toilet preparations and perfumery, and to the operations of certain auxiliary trades; very few were engaged on manufacturing processes.

17. Textiles.—The *Textile Trades* were largely women's sphere before the war, engaging two-fifths of the whole number of women in industry, and four-sevenths of all the workers in these trades being women. This was about the proportion in the Cotton industry, where, after the rough and rather dangerous work of cleaning and loosing the cotton fibre had been done on men's machines, women were employed with men in the blowing and card room on machines laying parallel the cotton fibres and afterwards nearly exclusively in processes for attenuating the "sliver" and giving the light twist which prepares it for the actual spinning. Spinning was done by women or men according to whether it was ring spinning or mule spinning for the coarser counts of yarn, the mules being large and complicated machines. The winding of the yarn from the cops, or bundles of thread that come from the spindles, on to bobbins and the warping from bobbins to a beam of the yarn which is subsequently to form the warp of the woven cloth were also done by women, but men fixed the beam in the weaving machine, and in this country did some other processes preparatory to weaving which in America are done by women. The majority of weavers were women working under the overlooking of men but it was very much a family operation, employing husbands and sons as well as wives and daughters in localities where other men's work was not available. The weaver's work consisted almost entirely of keeping the shuttles furnished with cops of weft, placing the shuttles in the looms, replacing them by full ones as they became empty, repairing broken threads of the warp and stopping and starting the looms as the foregoing operations required. The number of looms generally worked by men was four, although in some districts it was the practice for some of the men to attend to six looms with the

assistance of a boy or girl known in the industry as a tenter. Women very seldom worked more than four looms, while young persons—boys and girls of 14 years and upwards—worked two or three looms according to their efficiency and age. All worked to a uniform piece-work list.

There was a general understanding as to which were men's and which women's jobs in Wool Combing before the war, but on night turns, which are perennial in the industry, the men took all the women's jobs, viz.:—breaking off, card feeding, backwashing, punch-balling (making strands), boxing (uniting strands), comb minding and finishing. The exclusively men's jobs such as card-grinding, card-jobbing and bowl-minding were very heavy, and wool-drying very hot. The employees in the trade were 55 per cent. men and 45 per cent. women; on the day turns 60 per cent. women and 40 per cent. men were engaged.

In the Woollen and Worsted trade the line of sex division follows broadly the same course as in the Cotton industry. As carried on in Yorkshire men did the mule spinning. Women were exclusively employed on yarn reeling and winding, processes by which the woollen or worsted yarn is prepared for warp, and with some exceptions (principally in the Huddersfield men's suiting trade) on warping and weaving, men being warp dressers, beamers and twisters-in. Only women were birlers and knotters (removing knots and irregularities from the finished cloth), menders and fine drawers. Men again were exclusively dyers, fullers and dressers or finishers.

In the Scotch Tweed trade the division of processes between men and women was on much the same lines though there appear to have been rather more on which men and women were engaged on the same work before the war and the processes are differently named. Women were employed with men on the earlier processes of bank and condenser watching, on carding machines, which prepare the "sliver" for spinning, on mule and throstle piecing (joining threads in the spinning process), and on web-drawing and pattern weaving. Men did all the spinning—a highly skilled operation—and tuning, *i.e.*, keeping the looms in order. The exclusive women's processes were, and are, yarn reeling, winding, drawing, web weaving (except for 3 per cent. men), greasy piece birling, darning and picking, and clean piece picking or specking and darning. Piece pencillers or shaders were also exclusively women; piece scouring and milling was done entirely by men, and only men were employed in the dye houses.

Three times as many women (including young girls) as men were engaged on Hosiery, and in England (Leicestershire) they were employed, often with men, on every process and machine, except on Cotton's Patent Frame, which is large and complicated, and had been to a great extent displaced in Leicester by light women's machines. In parts of Scotland the workers of Cotton's Patent Frame comprised a varying proportion of women. In both countries only men were engaged in finishing, that is, in the scouring house, boarding house and press shop, and on packing, etc.

Silk is mainly a women's trade and employed before the war twice as many women as men. The former were engaged on sorting, winding, doubling, throwing, spinning, warping, weaving, finishing, making up and ancillary occupations. According to the Silk Association, except for a limited number of male weavers (mostly on hand looms) and spun silk dressers, men were principally engaged in supervisory or auxiliary occupations as mechanics, stokers, loom overlookers, etc. There was a perfectly clear dividing line between men's and women's work and practically no occupation in which men and women were jointly engaged. These conditions do not seem to have applied to the small but well

organised Leek district, where men did the weaving and where no women were employed as twistors or pickers.

In the Textile Dyeing and Bleaching trade only about one-quarter of the total number of employees before the war were women. They were mainly engaged on the preliminary processes, such as sewing together pieces to be manipulated on machines, which they did to the extent of about 95 per cent., and in the making-up of the dyed or bleached material, of which they probably did rather more than half. In cotton-warp and hank dyeing, women did the banding and making up of the cotton hank and the winding, and in velvet and cord dyeing they guided in the material on stretchers (stretchering or stentering). The actual processes on which women worked varied, however, from one district to another, and they were more extensively employed in the country than the town districts. Wet processes were generally reserved for men.

18. Clothing.—The *Clothing Trades* employed before the war more than twice as many women as men and about three-tenths of the total women in industry. More than three-fifths of the total number of employees in tailoring were women, nearly all those in shirt-making, dress-making and millinery, one-third in boots, shoes and slippers, and three-fifths in hats, caps and bonnets. Rather more men than women were employed in the dyeing and cleaning of clothes, and of those engaged in laundries, five-sixths were women.

In the Tailoring trade women did baisting, hand sewing, and button-holing and sometimes, but not usually, seam pressing and pressing off. In the wholesale ready-made trade nearly all machinists were women. This was much less the case in wholesale bespoke tailoring, and generally cutters of all kinds were men and men did the fitting, usually the pressing, and the passing or overlooking the work.

In the Shirt-making trade over eight women were employed to one man. They were engaged as shirt, collar and jacket machinists, with the other incidental work necessary on these garments, viz., button-holing, buttoning, folding, pressing, etc. Men only came in as foremen and cutters or as warehousemen and packers, and as starchers, ironers, boxers and wrappers up.

In Boots, Shoes and Slippers, women were principally employed in machining and upper closing (*i.e.*, stitching all the pieces together which go to make the top and upper part of the boot or shoe), on which practically no men were engaged. In the shoe or stock-room, where the final operations of treeing, cleaning and boxing are carried out, 55 per cent. on the work were women. Women were only exceptionally employed in the clicking, press, lasting and finishing departments of the trade.

In the Silk and Felt Hat trade the only important group of women were the trimmers. Women did the machine and hand sewing and trimming on straw hats, while men were blockers and stiffeners. In Glove making women were sewers, finishers and machine pointers, while men were leather sorters, cutters, parers, washers and cleaners. Men were cutters and pressers in Stay-making, the other processes being done by women.

The women's work in Dyeing and Cleaning before the war was in the finishing department, where only the foremen and overlookers were males. The actual dyeing processes were carried out by men and by boys, who were apprentices or improvers.

In Laundries the jobs of men and women were also distinct, the former constituting the outdoor staff of carmen and van boys, stoking the boiler and looking after the machinery, including working the

hydro-extractors in the wash house. The women checked, examined and marked the articles received, did any hand washing and dried, starched and ironed or calendered the clean clothes. In a very large laundry a man would be in charge of the calendering.

19. Food, Drink and Tobacco.—The Committee were informed that the 2,000 women employed before the war in connection with Grain Milling were principally engaged in sackmending and doing light warehouse work. In the larger Bakeries they were but little employed except for cleaning up, preparing tins and other so-called porter's work. They did what might be termed domestic bakery in smaller places, especially in the North. In Biscuit factories, women were employed on certain light manufacturing operations, such as icing and decorating biscuits by hand, chocolate dipping and, in Scotland, the making of oatcakes by hand. Messrs. Huntley and Palmer used them for the sorting of rusks, and they were also employed on lining tins with paper, making paper bags, packing into tins or paper packets, pasting labels on tins and wrapping tins and cakes in paper. Most processes in Confectionery, jam-making and fruit preserving were carried out completely by women. Men did the heavier work such as jam-boiling and acted as departmental foremen and practical confectioners. No women were employed in Brewing and Malting before the war, though there were girls in the bottling department on bottle washing, bottling, stacking, examining and packing. Cigar and cigarette making was then becoming primarily a woman's trade.

20. Paper and Printing.—The principal *Paper and Printing Trades* in which women were largely engaged were printing and book-binding, cardboard box making, stationery and paper making. According to the Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades, there was little or no joint employment in Printing in England and Wales, the Trade Unions having excluded women from most of the printing processes for which they were eminently suited. Women and girls did the feeding or laying on and the taking off of sheets in the letterpress and litho-printing machine rooms, the larger machines (at any rate in Leeds) being fed by youths. They were not allowed to prepare the machine or "make ready" any job. In Scotland, however, the processes on which women might be employed included to a limited extent composition (hand and machine). In Binding, especially in the less skilled forms, they were employed on many processes such as paging, collating, folding, sewing, wire-stitching, case making, laying on gold leaf, &c. On Stationery more women were employed than men. There is a fair line of demarcation between men's and women's work. "Box making is predominantly a woman's industry. The cutting of the cardboard is mainly done by men, but the making up of the boxes is performed by women and girls (except in the Jewish workshops, where men are often employed in making up as well as cutting). The proportion of male to female workers seems to be roughly about two to thirteen."^{*}

21. China and Earthenware.—In the *China and Earthenware Trades* rather more than two-fifths of the workpeople were women. According to the Trade Union, of the fifty operations in general earthenware manufacture, at least a dozen were considered women's operations and in a similar number women and men worked together. The employers gave some twenty processes in which women were entirely employed, and eight, viz., pressing, casting, dipping, placing, cup making,

^{*} "The Establishment of Legal Minimum Rates in the Box-making Industry," by M. E. Bulkley, 1915.

handling, decorating and working in the glost warehouse in which both men and women were engaged. Generally it was stated that women did the lighter descriptions of work in these various operations. In casting, which was replacing the heavier pressing, they appear in some factories to have been exclusively employed; in others they did fettling or cleaning off rims for the men. They had labourers to help them in dipping, and they were said only to place the lighter work on saggars and not to have placed the saggars in the ovens nor to have drawn the ovens. In handling, they appear to have been largely confined to putting the handles on cups and in the glost warehouse to have held the less responsible positions. The few men decorators employed were engaged on the more skilled hand decorating.

22. Skin and Leather.—As regards the *Skin and Leather Trades*, women were very little employed in tanning and currying before the war, having been confined to dry operations in the warehouses and sheds. In the manufacture of leather into travelling bags and other leather goods, more than half the workers were women; they did the lighter work such as on attaché cases or vanity bags, leaving the leather portmanteau and other heavy goods to the men.

23. Gas, Water, Electricity and Transport.—In *Gas, Water and Electricity* undertakings women were practically not employed before the war, nor were they in *Transport* services except as clerks, tracers, telegraph and telephone operators, charwomen and, to the extent of 2 per cent. on the London and North Western, 0·7 per cent. on the Great Western and a small percentage on certain other railways and tramways as carriage-cleaners, and to the extent of 37·4 per cent. on the Great Western as gate-keepers.

24. Agriculture.—As regards *Agriculture* in England, the result of enquiries made some 10 years before the war, which generally speaking appears to have held good in 1914, is set forth in the following extract:—

“It may be stated generally that, with the exception of Northumberland and Durham, there are no counties in England where the employment, for wages, of women at ordinary work in the fields is a general custom. The practice of employing women and children on the land largely declined in the early ‘seventies,’ and in the early ‘eighties’ it had almost entirely ceased in many districts. But on small farms, particularly in the Northern districts, the wives and daughters of the owners or tenants frequently assist in the fields, especially at busy times. There are, however, districts, besides those in the North, where women are employed for wages at certain outdoor work, such as hoeing and weeding and picking stones, potato lifting, and during hay and corn harvest. The practice is, however, becoming less common every year owing to the difficulty of getting them to undertake such work. In the fruit and flower-growing districts, and also in the hop districts, they are often employed at certain seasons.

“Unmarried women are frequently engaged for farmhouse work and dairy work. In the butter making and cheese making districts it is stated that they are becoming more difficult to procure. In some districts, particularly in the North, the women engaged for farmhouse work frequently feed calves, pigs, and fowls, and are also often expected to help at haytime and harvest if necessary.”*

* Report of Mr. Wilson Fox on the wages, earnings and conditions of employment of agricultural labourers in the United Kingdom, 1905, Cd. 2376.

On the other hand in all parts of Scotland women frequently took part in the ordinary work of the farm. In the Border Counties and the Lothians the number of women workers was nearly equal on many farms to the number of men, and on some farms where potatoes were largely grown there were sometimes more women than men. There was, however, an increasing tendency for young women to prefer situations in towns to agricultural work. In Ireland, except where there were market gardens near large towns, women were not much employed on outdoor work for wages, though the wives and daughters of small farmers frequently assisted on the farm. At busy seasons, however, in some districts women were engaged, generally by the day, for such work as hay making and harvest, weeding and hoeing, turnip lifting, potato picking, and flax pulling.

25. Hotels, Public Houses, &c.—Before the war, nearly equal numbers of males and females were employed in *hotels, public houses, cinemas, theatres, &c.*, and omitting the cinemas and theatres the numbers were still more nearly equal. There were in 1911 rather more barmen (28,693) than barmaids (22,259), but rather more waitresses (27,490) than waiters (23,054). The barmaid "is employed in every branch of the trade, except in the smallest public houses of all, and in the rough public house of dock or market districts, in the former case the duties of barmaid being performed by the wife or daughter of the publican, and a potman only being engaged to do the heavy work of moving the barrels, drawing the pulleys, and scrubbing out the bar."* When there is a saloon as well as a public bar section men are in many cases employed in the latter and women in the former. In the railway refreshment room, the theatre and music hall exclusively women are employed. Half of the barmaids are under 25. The older and married women are found in the theatre or as seasonal barmaids in Exhibitions, &c.

The difference between the work of waiters and waitresses was emphasised by witnesses before the Committee. One large employer stated that the waiter was able to take twice as many tables as the waitress at the regular meal, but that for serving tea or light refreshments the man's reserve of strength would be wasted. This was in part confirmed by a representative of the Loyal British Waiters and Chefs' Society who stated that where the women could take three tables the men could take five, and that though excellent as light refreshment waitresses in the shops, women were not suitable for heavier work such as banquets. The tea shop waitress is generally young and unmarried. "The seasonal waitress of the great Exhibitions, &c., is not infrequently a young married woman, who is glad to add to her income in this way by returning for a short spell to her old trade. In the seasonal perhaps more than in any other branch of the work, there is said to be competition between the waiter and the waitress. But competition of this kind soon tends to adjust itself. Wherever the pressure of work needs exceptional power of endurance, wherever the excellence of the service requires an unusual degree of skill, and, last but not least, wherever 'fashion' demands the superior presence of the male, a mere woman is unable to compete. Those firms who for reasons of economy have introduced the waitress, have been obliged later on to return to the waiter. Nor are the duties of the waitress so special in character as those of the waiter. With

* The "Barmaid," by Mrs. Bernard Drake, in the "Women's Industrial News" of April, 1914.

the greater number of firms, she serves, during part at least of her career, as counter-hand, or cashier. The usual order of promotion is—waitress, cashier, counter-hand, 'seater' (in the larger establishments), manageress."*

There are rather more women than men cooks not domestically employed, but in hotels and restaurants the men are always given the more responsible positions and a man chef is not looked upon as replaceable by a woman. "The kitchen employee of the tea shop is little more than an unskilled worker with few, if any, qualifications as a cook. For the restaurant where the cooking is heavier and more skilled, the kitchen employees are almost invariably men."

26. Domestic Service.—In *Domestic Service* women furnished before the war nearly five-sixths of the persons employed. All outdoor service of this nature was performed by men, the number so employed representing three-fifths of the total male domestics, the bulk of the remainder being butlers, footmen, &c. In 1912, 1913 and 1914 employers had found an increasing difficulty in getting the upper grades of domestic servants; the supply of the less trained was greater than the demand.

27. Commercial occupations.—In *Commercial occupations* the not inconsiderable proportion of women—over one-quarter of the whole—were principally shop assistants and business clerks. In shops there was fairly definite demarcation between men's and women's work. In England, but not to the same extent in Scotland, mainly men were employed in connection with perishable goods, such as grocery and other provisions, the work being looked upon as skilled and involving at times heavy portage; few women were employed in ironmongery, china and glass, and only men in furniture and carpets. Men were largely employed in the heavy cloth and mantle sections of the drapery trade, and women almost entirely in the lighter sections and on women's wear, although there would often be a male window dresser and a man in charge, and in most multiple shops the branch manager was a man. In the provinces the line of demarcation was less distinct than in London. The wholesale trade before the war was practically a man's monopoly and regarded as promotion from the retail trade. In the wholesale trade men were also employed in the warehouse but these were a less skilled class than the men otherwise engaged in the distributive business.

28. Clerical Work.—Not only in Commerce, but also in Industry and in the work of Institutions and of the Local and National Governments, women were employed before the war on *Clerical Work*. The clerical staff in most retail shops was female though the counting house was almost wholly in the hands of men. In business, apart from type-writing and shorthand-writing, women were mostly engaged in the routine work of correspondence, book-keeping, coupon filing, &c. On the railways the employment of women clerks was increasing immediately before the war; they were utilised on much the same classes of work as in other forms of industry, but also, in some cases, on work in

* "The Tea-shop Girl," by Mrs. Bernard Drake, in the "Women's Industrial News" of April, 1913.

the audit and goods department at railway stations, and on the Great Western Railway and some of the Scottish railways as telephone and telegraph operators.

29. National Government.—Before the war, with the exception of the Post Office, *Civil Service* Departments of the National Government employed comparatively few women and these were on four classes of work—technical, institutional, clerical and shorthand-typing.

In the first class were about 200 women. Nine women doctors were employed on the medical staff of the Local Government Board, Board of Education, National Health Insurance Commission (England) and in connection with the supervision of prisons, reformatories and lunatic asylums. Their work was comparable to that of the male officers of the Departments though their attention was given largely to questions concerning women and children. 157 were in the inspectorates of various departments, including 80 under the four National Health Commissions. 51 were engaged under the Education Departments of England, Scotland and Ireland on work similar to that of male inspectors. 21 supervised the industrial conditions for female labour as factory inspectors under the Home Office, and 11 were on the general inspectorial staffs of the Local Government Boards for England, Ireland and Scotland. There were a few instances of women with special knowledge being employed on technical work on the indoor staff.

In connection with prisons, Borstal Institutions and State Inebriate Reformatories there were 251 appointments.

206 women were engaged on clerical work being selected for the service much as were the male Second Division Clerks. Eight of these women were Supervisors or Superintendents, 12 were Principal, 26 First Class and 168 Second Class Clerks. There were in addition some 68 young girls employed as card tellers. By far the greater number of these women clerks were employed in the four National Health Insurance Commissions. Their duties were much of the same class as those of the men Assistant Clerks, defined in an official letter as "registry indexing, docketing, simple abstracting of figures from one account to another and simple compilation of returns."

Female typists and shorthand writers, though not employed in great numbers, were distributed generally throughout the service. Numbers and grading were as follows:—

Chief Superintendents of female typists	...	13
Superintendents of female typists	...	97
Female shorthand writer typists	...	176
Female typists	...	504

The *Post Office*, where the conditions were particularly favourable to the introduction of women's service, employed in London and the Provinces over 25,000 established women. The principal divisions were as follows:—

Telephonists	...	11,723
Sorters and telegraphists	...	7,560
Clerks	...	3,234
Counter clerks	...	1,053

There was promotion from these classes to the higher ranks of supervisor, superintendent, &c.

The Association of Post Office Clerks claimed in 1912 before the Royal Commission on the Civil Service that the work done by women and men clerks before the war was similar and interchangeable. Evidence given before the present Committee was to the effect that men and women were performing similar duties as counter clerks, but that the heavier of these duties tended to be handed over to the men who on the average had longer service and experience. On the bulk of the work at the Central Telegraph Office men and women were employed side by side, but men did late and night duties and before the war were exclusively employed in the cable room. The comparatively few men telephonists were employed only on night duty for which women were not held to be eligible.

30. Local Government.—In *Local Government* not many women were employed except in the Poor Law Service where they had duties in connection with women paupers and in workhouses and infirmaries. In municipal offices a few were engaged on routine, clerical and type-writing work. The London County Council informed the Committee that they had women inspectors under the Shops Act and Children's Act, and women inspectors of employment bureaux and massage establishments, and women medical officers and that their organisers who had duties under the Public Health Department in connection with the examination and treatment of children and under the Education Department as regards the feeding of children were entirely women.

31. Teaching Profession.—Women were employed as *Teachers* in elementary, secondary and special schools under Local Authorities. The usual method of recruitment was for teachers on leaving the training colleges to make direct application to these authorities. In the case of specialist teachers applications were invited through the public press.

The following table shows little change in the proportion of men and women certificated teachers in elementary schools in a period of 10 years:—

Grade.	Number.	Percentage of Women to Men.
1904-5.		
Certificated Head Teachers—		
Men	13,842 }	127·4
Women	17,635 }	
Certificated Assistant Teachers—		
Men	14,440 }	227·7
Women	32,834 }	
1913-14.		
Certificated Head Teachers—		
Men	14,004 }	127·7
Women	17,891 }	
Certificated Assistant Teachers—		
Men	22,962 }	234·7
Women	53,875 }	

In 1914 there were approximately 4,000 uncertificated men and 37,000 uncertificated women.

In the Elementary Schools women taught in the girls' and infants' departments which were in the charge of head mistresses. Women also taught in Standards I., II. and III. of the boys' departments, the higher classes being entirely in charge of male teachers. While there was an increasing tendency for women to be put in charge of the younger boys, the system of mixed classes of the elder children was on the decline, as it was found to be a handicap in the teaching of special subjects such as laundry work and carpentry. In small mixed country schools of 60 or 70 pupils, local authorities often appointed a head mistress for reasons of economy, in spite of the preference of local opinion for a male teacher because of his wider usefulness in the parish. While it was considered desirable to have male teachers in remote country districts, it was found that neither the life nor the conditions of service attracted them.

Work in Special Schools was largely in the hands of women, male teaching of defectives being usually confined to manual work and the like.

The number of teachers in Secondary Schools on the Grant List on January 31st, 1914, was as follows:—

	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Women.</i>
Head teachers	668	349
Full-time assistants	4,779	5,028
Part-time assistants	1,830	1,588

In these schools women teachers taught in the girls' departments, and there was a growing tendency for them to take the preparatory classes of small boys up to 9 or 10 years of age.

The Education Officer of the London County Council informed the Committee that the proportion of women to men teachers had gone down before the war from 2·44 in 1905 to 2·24 in 1910 and 2·12 in 1914. Men could not take the place of women in an infants' department or girls' school, nor could a woman look after the boys' organised games or bring the same experience as could men in the training of the boys' character, which was as essential as the teaching of knowledge. Out of 6,000 male teachers in the employment of the Council, 2,000 taking Standards I, II and III in boys' schools might conceivably be replaced by women. The balance of 4,000 must be regarded as the minimum of male teachers required.

32. Demarcation of Men's and Women's Work.—From the foregoing, it is clear that in industry generally there are men's trades and women's trades and trades that employ both men and women; that, in these last, there are men's processes and women's processes and processes which employ both men and women; and that the common processes before the war were not very numerous or extensive and existed mainly in the textile, though to some extent also in the clothing and earthenware, trades. In the trades which were predominantly male, women were often employed on ancillary processes such as polishing, lacquering, weighing, counting, sorting, wrapping, making into packets, labelling, bottling, etc. Similarly, in the mainly female trades, ancillary processes involving strength or much skill, such as mechanics' work, stoking, packing and moving heavy cases, overlooking and window

dressing, were often done by men. The working of the lighter class of machines not requiring great strength or high skill was becoming increasingly women's work, and the introduction of such machines into engineering, brass work, etc., was tending to replace men by women. On the other hand, the introduction of heavy machines such as the lever in lace making and the hydro-extractor in laundry work, had tended to replace women by men. Cotton's Patent Frames usually required men in the hosiery trade, otherwise largely a woman's occupation. Generally where strength was required, men, as might be expected, kept a process their own, and often when analogous processes were done by men and women, the latter applied them to the lighter articles—the smaller plates in earthenware, the smaller bags in leather work, the smaller classes of brushes—and the men to the heavier. So also when the skill was such that it could only be acquired by apprenticeship in the workshop or the factory, the process was generally a man's. Cutting out, except in dress-making, and sometimes in that, was men's work, whether on cardboard for boxes, leather for boots, cloth for clothes, or linen for shirts. Sewing, whether on sacks for heavy chemicals or flour, on fabrics about to be dyed, or on clothes (machine or hand), or boot uppers (hand), was done by women. Rough processes involving exposure to heat and dirt were, before the war, nearly exclusively men's processes, and there were no women in the foundry, at the dye vats or in the tanning yard. The principal points of contact between the two sexes at which the lines of demarcation were not clear before the war appear to have lain mainly in professions, including teaching and the Civil Service, in clerical work, in certain branches of retail trade, in printing and bookbinding, in wholesale tailoring (pressing off), in pottery (dipping), in hosiery (Cotton's Patent Frames), in the wool trade (warping and weaving), in cotton (weaving and drawing-in), in the wood trades (french polishing and brushmaking), and to some extent in the lighter branches of the metal trades. Restrictions imposed by the State in what was held to be the interests of women and by Trade Unions in what was believed to be the interests of men were superimposed on the restrictions arising from differences in physical characteristics and upbringing in the demarcation of men's and women's work.

33. Employment of unmarried, married and widowed Women.—Before dealing with State and Trade Union restrictions it will be convenient to set forth the proportions before the war of women workers who were unmarried, married or widowed and the percentage of the unmarried who were girls under 18, factors of interest in the consideration of wages. In England and Wales, according to the 1911 census, 54·5 per cent. of the total unmarried females over 10 years of age, 10·3 per cent. of the married women and 30·1 per cent. of the widows were engaged in occupations. The proportions, as might be expected, were higher in the urban districts, where 56·8 of the unmarried, 11·5 of the married and 30·8 per cent. of the widowed were occupied, against, in the rural districts, 45·8 per cent., 5·9 per cent. and 27·5 per cent. in the respective categories. The great difference in the proportions of married women comes from half of the occupied women in the rural districts being in domestic service, which, except for charwomen—a town variety—takes mainly the unmarried as does also agriculture.

77·4 per cent. of the total number of occupied women in England and Wales in 1911 were unmarried, 14·1 per cent. married and 8·5 widowed. Dividing them into the three groups of (1) domestic service and food supply, (2) main women's industries, and (3) other employment, the

percentages of the unmarried, married and widowed occupied females who were in each group work out as follows:—

—	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Total.
(1) Domestic Service and Food Supply...	45·0	41·8	60·2	45·7
(2) Main Women's Industries	39·5	46·3	23·8	39·0
(3) Other employment	15·5	11·9	16·0	15·3
	100	100	100	100

Details showing the numbers and the percentages of the three states in each of the main industries are given in the following table:—

—	Total Numbers of Female Workers.	Numbers in Groups.			Percentages in Groups.		
		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
(1) <i>Domestic Service and Food Supply.</i>							
Food, Drink, Tobacco and Lodging.	474,683	260,461	140,512	73,710	54·9	29·6	15·5
Domestic Offices or Service.	1,734,040	1,416,791	143,513	173,736	81·7	8·3	10·0
Total	2,208,723	1,677,252	284,025	247,446	75·9	12·9	11·2
(2) <i>Main Women's Industries.</i>							
Metals, Machines, &c. ...	124,713	98,633	20,627	5,453	79·1	16·5	4·4
Chemicals, Oil, Grease, Soap, Resin, &c. ...	36,870	32,207	3,306	1,357	87·4	8·9	3·7
Textile Fabrics	746,154	562,647	154,348	29,159	75·4	20·7	3·9
Dress	755,964	606,899	99,439	49,626	80·3	13·2	6·5
Wood, Furniture, Fittings and Decorations.	30,184	20,231	6,965	2,988	67·0	23·1	9·9
Paper, Prints, Books and Stationery.	121,309	100,662	15,188	5,459	83·0	12·5	4·5
Brick, Cement, Pottery and Glass.	39,124	27,803	9,442	1,879	71·1	24·1	4·8
Skins, Leather, Hair and Feathers.	30,208	22,778	5,327	2,103	75·4	17·6	7·0
Total	1,884,526	1,471,860	314,642	98,024	78·1	16·7	5·2
(3) <i>Other Employment.</i>	737,485	590,420	81,524	65,541	80·0	11·1	8·9
Total engaged in Occupations.	4,830,734	3,739,532	680,191	411,011	77·4	14·1	8·5

Less than the general percentage of married women in occupations of all sorts were in domestic service and in the chemical, paper and printing and clothing trades; over that percentage were in the metal, textile, leather, furniture and pottery trades, and more than double that percentage were in occupations connected with the supply of food, drink, tobacco

and lodging. Of the various causes that contributed to these different proportions no doubt a main one was the natural preference of married women for home working and for occupations where they need not "live in."

The percentage of married women in the main women's industries was greater than the percentage of married women in occupations of all descriptions and the percentage in domestic service and food, etc. supply, taken together was less. Widows, being in the course of nature older, gravitated to the less physically arduous work and the percentage of them in the main women's industries was smaller than the percentage of women in occupations of all descriptions, and the percentage in domestic service and food, etc. supply, taken together, was greater.

Married women who work in industry are those who must do it on account of being themselves the bread-winners of their families, those who do it from preference, and those who are intermediate between the other two categories, it being in varying degrees necessary for them to contribute to the support of themselves, their husbands and families. The first category includes the wives of those who through physical, mental or moral incapacity, cannot earn wages; widows and unmarried mothers with children may be put with these. The only alternative to paid employment for such women is for them to live by the assistance of friends or the charity of the public. The second category are the wives of men earning good money who wish to improve their status, desire to have some independence of their husband's earnings, or dislike the monotony of an inadequately filled domestic life. Sir David Shackleton told the Committee that if the skilled craftsman lives in an area where women usually find work, there is a tendency on the part of the women to take employment in order to augment the family income and to obtain better clothing, furniture, &c., the emulation leading to this being most developed in the smaller communities. The working of the wives of skilled craftsmen is unusual in Scotland and in mining districts, in the latter case probably owing to the non-accessibility of factories where they can work. The desire of many women to be, at any rate in part, independent of their husbands was impressed on the Committee by Miss Clementina Black, a representative of the Women's Industrial Council, while other witnesses referred the tendency on the part of women who had been trained in some factory work before marriage to return to the interest it furnished after a time of purely domestic employment. The intermediate class of employed married women are the wives of men in very low paid trades, of those whose work is casual and of the unemployed. The wives of many labourers come into this category, especially if the children are numerous, though this is the circumstance in which women most wish to stay at home. Again, when husbands are working in trades in which employment is irregular, wives know that at any time they may have to take the place of the bread-winner, and they accordingly enter permanent employment so as to be prepared for this emergency. "Irregular employment of men is not only a grave evil *per se*, but is a direct inducement of married women's work."*

34. Employment of Girls.—Of the 3,739,532 unmarried females shown in the foregoing table as in occupation in England and Wales, according to the census of 1911, 843,053 or 22·5 per cent. were under 18. The proportion of these girls to the total number of females in occupation was 17·5 per cent. The following table shows numbers and percentages at different ages in the various groups of occupations:—

* "Married Women's Work," 1915, Chapter on Yorkshire by Miss B. L. Hutchins.

Occupation.	Total number of Female Workers.	Number of Female Workers under 14.		Number of Female Workers aged 14-16.		Number of Female Workers aged 16-18.		Total number of Female Workers under 18.	
		Number.	Percent- age of total.	Number.	Percent- age of total.	Number.	Percent- age of total.	Number.	Percent- age of total.
1. <i>Domestic service and food supply—</i>									
Food, drink, tobacco and lodgings	474,683	1,043	0.2	17,444	3.7	27,707	5.9	46,194	9.8
Domestic service	1,734,940	7,784	0.4	104,831	6.0	171,779	9.9	284,394	16.3
Total	2,208,723	8,827	0.4	122,275	5.5	199,486	9.0	330,588	14.9
2. <i>Main women's industries—</i>									
Metals, machines, &c. ..	124,713	919	0.7	14,195	11.4	19,023	15.2	34,137	27.3
Chemicals, oils, grease, soap, resin, &c.	36,870	204	0.6	4,114	11.2	5,998	16.3	10,316	28.1
Textile fabrics	746,154	29,205	3.9	71,104	9.5	80,860	10.9	181,169	24.3
Dress	755,964	5,109	0.7	65,235	8.7	87,404	11.6	157,748	21.0
Wood, furniture, fittings and decorations	30,184	172	0.6	2,184	7.2	3,166	10.5	5,522	18.3
Paper, prints, books and sta- tionery	121,309	1,178	1.0	14,329	11.8	17,233	14.2	32,740	27.0
Brick, cement, pottery and glass	39,124	908	2.3	3,999	10.2	5,046	12.9	9,953	25.4
Skin, leather, hair, and feathers	30,208	175	0.6	3,667	12.1	4,003	13.3	7,845	26.0
Total	1,884,526	37,870	2.0	178,827	9.5	222,733	11.8	439,430	23.3
3. <i>Other employment</i>	737,485	2,579	0.3	25,400	3.4	45,056	6.1	73,035	9.8
Grand Total	4,830,734	49,276	1.0	326,502	6.8	467,275	9.7	843,053	17.5

The number of very young girls—between 10 and 14—in occupations, had decreased since 1901 from 70,262 to 49,276, that is from 5·25 per cent. to 3·5 per cent. of the total number of girls between these limits of age. In domestic service, in food and lodging supply and in employment other than in the main women's industries, the percentage of girls employed was less than in occupation generally (17·5 per cent.); in the main women's industries it was greater. Of the girls under 14 more than half were in the textile trades. Of those between 14 and 16 nearly a third were in domestic service and more than another third in the textile and clothing trades taken together. Of those between 16 and 18 over a third were in domestic service, and the number in the textile and clothing trades taken together was about the same as the number in domestic service.

A small proportion of these girls were recognised as apprentices. There is no very definite or reliable information in this matter, but of 288,644 occupied females under 21 in the main clothing trades (tailoring, dressmaking, millinery, shirt-making, &c.), 34,265 or 11·9 per cent. were returned in the 1911 census as apprentices. The percentage was higher (15·4) in the drapery trade. In confectionery, &c., it was only 5·6 per cent., and in other trades insignificant. Where the percentage of apprentices appeared highest—in millinery (24·8) and dressmaking (18·8)—apprenticeship, according to Trade Union evidence given to the Committee, meant little more than work for pocket money or no wages, but for such chance of gaining skill as it might give.

35. Regulation of Employment of Women by the State.—State regulation of women's work before the war was through the Factory Legislation enacted from 1844 onwards. While much of the legislation was in the interests of the cleanliness, health and safety of workers generally, parts had special application to young persons and women in factories or workshops. It excluded women from employment underground or in moving railway waggons, from brass casting and certain processes in the manufacture of white lead, and it imposed periodical medical inspection on those engaged in lead processes in the making of china and earthenware, with suspension or exclusion where liability to poisoning was shown. Restrictions were placed on women working between, or cleaning certain parts of, machines in motion. Provision was made for separate rooms for meals and separate sanitary accommodation. Women were prevented from working at night—usually between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m.—and (with an unimportant exception) on Sundays or the recognised public holidays. Their working week was limited in the case of non-textile industries to 60 hours, and the working day to a maximum of 10½ hours and 7½ hours on Saturdays; spells without meal interruptions were limited to 5 hours. In the textile trades the limits were 55½ hours for the week, 10 for the day and 5½ on Saturdays, and 4 for spells. Overtime was not allowed in the textile trade, and limited in most others to 30 occasions in the year, and to not more than 2 hours (including half an hour for a meal) on any one date. Certain latitude was given in this respect in laundries. The holiday and meal regulations for shops applied to men as well as women, the only special shop regulation for the latter obliging the employer to provide at least one seat to every three shop assistants. An occupier of a factory or workshop might not knowingly employ a woman within four weeks of the birth of her child. A provision in the law applying to all classes of workers which is claimed to have specially benefited women workers, both home and out, is that which compels clear information and particulars of the work to be done and of the piece rates applicable to be

given to piece-workers before they commence work in the textile, clothing and certain other trades.

Exception has been taken in the past to the provisions of the Factory and Workshop Acts which apply only to women as tending to handicap women in the competition for employment in trades largely dependent on unrestricted men's labour. The economic effect of these provisions was very fully considered by a Special Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, who reported in 1903 that the information as to the general demand for women's labour did not show any appreciable change traceable to the Acts, and that as regards rates of wages and allocation of work between men and women they had been at the utmost among the less important of the determining factors. According to Thorold Rogers, the general effect of the Factory Acts, by prohibiting the employment of certain classes of persons, and regulating the hours of labour, has been to increase the wages absolutely and relatively without diminishing the legitimate profits of the employers. The general view of labour in this matter, as expressed in the 1916 Labour Year Book, was that the advantage to health from regulation outweighed any disadvantage, and that it should be applied to men rather than relaxed in the case of women. Reference is, however, made in the Year Book to the lower piece-work rates paid to women operatives, being in part attributed to this cause, and certainly the disagreeable conditions of night working may reasonably have been considered to justify higher payment to those engaged on it than was earned for similar work in the day. Another aspect of this problem is exemplified by the opposition of Post Office Unions to the employment of a larger proportion of women in offices on the ground, among others, that it threw on the men a larger proportion of late and early duties.

36. Regulation of Employment of Women by Trade Union Action.—The attitude of Trade Unions towards the employment of women, in part dictated by men's ideas as to what work it is decent and proper for women to perform, has also been influenced by the fear of the effect of women's competition in ousting men from occupations or in lowering their standard of life, a fear justified by the fact that degradation of the standard invariably followed the introduction on account of its cheapness of female labour. In occupations in which women have established themselves, the efforts of the men's Trade Unions have been directed towards confining them to the processes which, in the men's opinion, are the better suited to them, or to keeping from them particular machines or tools, weights and sizes of implements, materials and products. This has been done rather by getting the assent of employers to the rules of the Union than by written agreements, though in some instances such agreements are extant; for instance, one between the Federated Associations of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers and the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, made shortly before the war (5th May, 1914), which provides for the gradual cessation of the employment of females amongst male operatives in the clicking, press, lasting and finishing departments of the Boot Making Trade, in which operations male labour was then almost exclusively employed. The men in various trades have also refused to admit women to their Unions, and thus to give them the advantage of their organisation—this, in spite of the success in securing the interests of the workers which had been effected in the Cotton Unions and was promised in the Shop Assistants' Union, where women have been organised with men. In one great trade, that of Printing, in which

women were held not to be capable of keeping up the standard and efficiency of men, their exclusion from the trade was ensured by the London Society of Compositors by allowing their admission upon the same conditions as journeymen to be paid strictly the same rate. In this instance the principle of "the rate for the job" was being used before the war to restrict the employment of women, and the London Bookbinders' and the United Brushmakers' Society, giving evidence before the Fair Wages Committee* in 1908, also recognised this result of its application.

CHAPTER II.

WOMEN'S WAGES BEFORE THE WAR.

37. Wages in Agriculture and Domestic Service from 13th to 18th Centuries.—In such a report as this it is neither necessary nor possible to enter deeply into the history of women's wages. It is not a subject to which much attention has been devoted by the economic historians, and the ratio between the wages of men and women in the past would perhaps repay further research. It is, however, perfectly clear and not unimportant that the economic position of women as it stood at the outbreak of the war was the sequel to a long history of inferior status. Where anything like equality of wage is referred to by old writers it is generally mentioned with surprise.

In former times women appear to have worked generally at home as assistants to their fathers or husbands or as servants helping in their master's trade on what is called the "domestic system." In such cases their earnings merged into the family wage. The records of women's individual wages are to be found mainly in such employments as domestic service and agriculture. In the 13th and 14th centuries agricultural labourers were generally paid by piece-work; where payment was by day-work it was about at the rate of 2*d.* a day for men, 1*d.* for women and $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for boys. There are numerous records of maximum rates payable to women servants, women labourers in husbandry, haymakers, reapers of corn, gardeners and such like workers, in wages assessments of the 15th to the 18th centuries. These do not necessarily indicate the actual wages current. The system of payment is generally a money wage, with an addition for livery, or meat and drink, according to the custom of the occupation or district. It is seldom possible to compare the wage of men and women on an exact basis in the absence of sufficient detail as to the nature of the services rendered. It is likely enough that when men and women were engaged in haymaking, or reaping, they worked side by side, the men taking the heavier share of the labour. In domestic service, however, a chief woman servant required a greater variety of valuable accomplishments than she does in these days, and in all-round skill probably excelled any male domestic servant.

One of the earliest statutes regulating the wages of men and women was the Statute of Labourers of 1349, which imposed upon women equally with men the obligation of giving service when required, and of taking only such wages as had been given previous to the Black Death and the resulting scarcity of labour. Thorold Rogers tells us that the wages paid to women as thatchers' helps, which in the thirteenth century, allowing for the different value of money, were about equivalent to

* Cd. 4422, p. 16.

women's farm wages in modern times, were doubled after the Plague, and that before the end of the 15th century they were increased by 125 per cent. The Statute of 12 Richard II, 1388, states that "because the wages of the said labourers and servants have not been put in certainty before these times, it is agreed and assented that the bailiff of husbandry takes 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, and his clothing once a year at most, the master hind 10*s.*, the carter 10*s.*, the shepherd 10*s.*, the oxherd 6*s.* 8*d.*, the cowherd 6*s.* 8*d.*, the swineherd 6*s.*, the woman labourer 6*s.*, the dairymaid 6*s.*, the ploughman 7*s.* at most, and every other labourer and servant according to his degree."

An assessment of 1444 (23 Henry VI., c. 13), fixes as maxima for:—

A common servant of husbandry, 15*s.* and clothing, price of 40*d.* with meat and drink.

A woman servant, 10*s.* and clothing, price of 4*s.* with meat and drink.

A man reaper or carter, 3*d.* with meat and drink.

A man reaper or carter, 5*d.* without meat or drink.

A woman labourer and other labourers in harvest, 2½*d.* with meat and drink, and 4½*d.* without meat and drink.

The Statute of Labourers of 1495 assesses:—

A common servant of husbandry, 16*s.* 8*d.* yearly, and 4*s.* for clothing and food.

A woman servant, 10*s.* and 4*s.* for clothing and food.

Between 1540 and 1582, according to Thorold Rogers there are instances of women working at harvest receiving the same pay as men, as for instance, in 1545, at Oxford, for mowing and making hay a man 4*d.* and his wife 4*d.* a day. These cases are, however, exceptional. In 1562, the Statute of Apprentices (5 Eliz. c. 4), gave power to Justices to compel women to serve by the year, week or day "for such wages and in such reasonable sort and manner as they shall think meet." In 1566 and again in 1588, the Justices at Exeter retained the rates they had first certified in 1564, including among others for husbandry, 3*d.* a day with meat and drink for a man in hay harvest and 6*d.* without, and 2*d.* for a woman with meat and drink and 4*d.* without. A manservant from 16 to 20 was to have 20*s.* a year; from 20 to 24, 26*s.* 6*d.*; and over 24, 30*s.*, whereas an unmarried woman servant 16 to 24 years old was to have 16*s.* a year, and 5*s.* for her vesture and garment, rising to 20*s.* and 6*s.* 8*d.* at 24 years and upwards. At Oxford an assessment of 1601 gives to men haymaking 6*d.* and women haymaking 3*d.* An assessment made by the Justices of Wiltshire in 1604, states that "men labourers in haymaking and gripping of lent corn shall not take by the day with meat and drink of wages above 4*d.*, without meat and drink 8*d.* Women labourers in haymaking or gripping of lent corn shall not take by the day with meat and drink of wages above 3*d.*, and without meat and drink not above 6*d.* A common servant of husbandry shall not take by the year of wages above 23*s.* 3*d.* A chief woman servant shall not take by the year of wages above 30*s.* and a livery of 6*s.* Every other woman servant above 16 shall not take by the year of wages above 20*s.* and a livery of 5*s.*" Again, at "Okeham, within the County of Rutland," in 1610, a man reaper is assessed at 4*d.* with meat and 8*d.* without, and a woman reaper at 3*d.* with meat and 6*d.* without. At Exeter, in 1654, husbandry labourers were assessed at 3*d.* with food and 10*d.* without, and women haymakers at 2*d.* with food and 6*d.* without. In Essex wages were higher and in 1661 a woman labourer received 10*d.*, against a man's 1*s.* 2*d.*, and a

woman reaper 1s. 2d. against a man's 1s. 10d. Women and men reapers received respectively 1s. and 1s. 8d. in Suffolk in 1682, 8d. and 1s. in Warwick in 1684, 10d. and 1s. in Lancashire in 1725. The Lancashire artisan also received the 1s. rate and generally the 1725 scales of wages, while they showed a closer approximation of the woman's to the man's rate also represented a very great reduction in the man's and the woman's standard of living from that of former times.

38. Wages in Textile Industries in 17th and 18th Centuries.—From Miss B. L. Hutchins' "Women in Modern Industry" it would appear that women were also to some extent employed as individual wage earners in textile manufacture from the sixteenth century onward, this employment being, however, largely restricted, especially at times when the labour market was congested, by the regulations of the craft guilds. As to the wages of women so employed and their relation to men's wages there is not much information. An assessment as late as 1651, which records rates of pay to journeymen weavers, tuckers, fullers, &c., ignores women as textile workers altogether. In an assessment at Exeter in 1654 weavers were to have 2½d. a day with food or 8d. without. "It is difficult to guess whether these weavers were supposed to be men or women; the rates fixed are less than those for husbandry labourers, but rather more than those for women haymakers. Spinsters, however, were to have 'not above' 6d. a week with food or 1s. 4d. without. In 1713, at the same place, spinsters were to have not above 1s. a week, or 2s. 6d. if without board, which again compares very unfavourably with the other rates mentioned." Defoe, in his "Plan of English Commerce," (1749) describes how a poor labourer's wife and children may supplement his wages. He says: "If at the next door or at the next village there lives a clothier, or a stuff or drugget weaver, the manufacturer sends the poor woman combed wool or carded wool every week to spin, and she gets 8d. or 9d. a day at home. The weaver sends for her two little children, and they work by the loom, winding, fitting quills, etc., and the two bigger girls spin at home with their mother, and they earn 3d. or 4d. a day each, so that, put it together, the family at home gets as much as the father gets abroad and generally more." Elsewhere in the same work he says that after the great plague in France and the peace in Spain the run for goods was so great in England, and the prices so high, that poor women in Essex could earn 1s. or 1s. 6d. a day by spinning, and the farmers could hardly get dairymaids. This was, however, only for a time; demand slackened, and the spinners were reduced to misery. In the latter half of that century some women in the textile centres were earning what were considered very good wages. Arthur Young says of the cloth trade round Leeds: "Some women earn by weaving as much as the men." Of Norwich he says: "The earnings of manufacturers (*i.e.*, hand workers) are various but in general high," the men on an average earning 5s. a week, and many women earning as much. But while the average payment for spinning and weaving was 8s. 7d., the average wages of women in textile manufactures was 4s. 2½d., of boys 2s. 11½d., and of girls 2s. 7d. Frame-work knitting, introduced to replace hand knitting in the seventeenth century, gave employment to women, but became sweated and underpaid in the eighteenth. "The hours of work were as much as fifteen a day. Women, however, were paid at the same rates per piece, and were subject to the same deductions, and some of them were good hands and could earn as much as men." In the Silk Trade in 1776 it is recorded that the wages paid to millmen and stewards were 7s. a week, to the women doublers 3s. 6d., and to children 6d. to 1s.

39. Wages in other Industries before 19th Century.—

As regards women's wages in other industries before the industrial revolution, the few facts published by Miss Hutchins are that women, in the Derbyshire lead mines in the time of Edward II., washed and cleaned the ore at 1*d.* a day, and were assisted by girls at $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* a day, men being employed at the same time at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* a day; that some 450 years later Arthur Young found women in lead mines earning as much as 1*s.* a day, a man earning 1*s.* 3*d.*; that women were then getting good wages in the Sheffield plated ware trade, "much more," according to Young, "than by spinning wool in any part of the kingdom"; and that they were earning 5*s.* to 8*s.* a week in the potteries at Burslem.

40. Wages in Agriculture and Coal Mining in first half of 19th Century.—

Passing now to the wage conditions of the first half of the 19th Century, it will be sufficient as regards *Agriculture* to make one or two references to the Report of the Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture issued in 1843. One of these Commissioners states—"it would appear, perhaps, that in the hay harvest about as many women and girls are employed as men and boys, and that at other times of the year during which women are employed their number does not exceed one-third or one-fourth that of the men, except at the corn harvest, when their numbers may be nearly equal." He goes on to say that "with slight exception, the work performed by women in farm labour is not the kind of work which it would answer to employ men upon; the employment of women, therefore, has not superseded that of men. During the war women were employed in greater numbers than at present in some districts, but they made way for the men immediately at the peace. The strength required for the work performed by men effectually prevents women from being employed in it, and the lower rate of wages for which they work has not had any tendency, therefore, to make them more generally employed." From the evidence given in that Report for the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, and Somerset, it may be stated that the wage of the woman labourer averaged 10*d.* to 1*s.* per day at harvest time and 7*d.* to 10*d.* per day at other times. When working on piece-work, the wages were generally rather higher. The usual wages for a male agricultural worker at the same date may be gathered from the following extract of evidence given by one of the witnesses—"There are families with nothing beyond the bare money wages of the husband, 8*s.*, 9*s.*, or 10*s.* per week, according to the seasons."

Thorold Rogers states that "in the calculations made as to the rate of women's wages in the agricultural districts supplied by Mr. Villiers in 1860, the average given is 4*s.* 2*d.* But if the price of this kind of labour had risen (since the 15th Century) as highly as that of other commodities has, the wages of a woman labourer in husbandry would be from 24*s.* the best paid, and 18*s.* the ordinary rate, to 12*s.* the most poorly paid"*

Down to 1842 women and children were continuously employed in *Coal Mines*. In the report of that year on women and children in Coal Mines, the Commissioners stated that the value of women was considered to be half that of men, and that their wages were reckoned according to that estimate. As the result of that report was statutorily to debar women working underground, their employment in mines need not further be considered here.

* "Six Centuries of Work and Wages" by J. E. Thorold Rogers.

41. Wages in Industry in 1833.—The great changes in industry which occurred through the development of power and machinery between 1750 and 1800, with its accompanying reorganisation and subdivision of work, brought large numbers of women and girls into the towns to work, for the first time, for an individual wage. At first they naturally tended to follow their traditional industries under the new conditions. The hand loom weavers, hopelessly impoverished by the competition of the new capitalist employers, were forced to send their wives and children to the factories. Not only had the father's earnings declined, but the hand spinning of the family which had formerly supplemented his wage was now out of date. It is well known how deplorable were the conditions under which children, and especially the indentured Parish Apprentices, were compelled to work between 1770 and 1833, when the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children in factories was appointed. The Report of that Commission showed that between the ages of 11 and 26 females largely outnumbered males in the factories, but that the proportion of men to women increased above that age. Wages paid to women and the relation between the earnings of men and women varied from district to district, but the following figures from the Commission's evidence are believed to be characteristic of the *Cotton* industry in Lancashire:—

Age.	No. of Males employed.	Average Wage of Males.	No. of Females employed.	Average Wage of Females.
		<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
11-16	1,169	4 1½	1,123	4 3
16-21	736	10 2½	1,240	7 3½
21-26	612	17 2½	780	8 5
26-31	355	20 4½	295	8 7½
31-36	215	22 8½	100	8 9½
36-41	168	21 7½	81	9 8½
41-46	98	20 3½	38	9 3½
46-51	88	16 7½	23	8 10
51-56	41	16 4	4	8 4
56-61	28	13 6½	3	6 4

These wages represent both time and piece-work. Different customs prevailed in different mills, but the proportion of workers on time-work was invariably larger, and in some mills it was stated that no workers were employed on piece-work. According to figures given in the same Report for Cotton Mills in other parts of England the relation of men's and women's wages was much the same as in Lancashire.

The following examples are typical of the weekly wages of men and women employed in the other textile industries at the same period:—

Wool (North of England).

Men 21 years 19s. 6½d., rising to 22s. 6½d.

Women 21 years 7s., rising to 7s. 7d.

Flax (Leeds).

Men 21 years 17s. 1½d., rising to 19s. 7½d.

Women 21 years 6s. 4½d. (maximum wage).

Silk (Derby).

Men 21 years 18s. 1½d., rising to 29s. 11d.

Women 21 years 7s. 0½d., rising to 7s. 7d.

Lace (Derby).

Men 21 years 21s. 9d., rising to 30s.

Women 21 years 8s. 10½d., rising to 14s.

For paper and pottery, other important trades in which women worked, the figures given were as follows:—

Paper (Aberdeenshire).

Men 21 years 12s. 4½d., rising to 16s. 9d.

Women 21 years 5s. 4½d., rising to 5s. 10½d.

Pottery (Staffordshire).

Men 21 years 15s. 1½d., rising to 22s. 8d.

Women 21 years 7s. 3¼d., rising to 9s. 1d.

In all the above trades the number of females employed was generally greater than the number of males except in paper and pottery, where it was considerably less.

42. Wages in 1886, 1906 and 1914.—In the period of over 50 years between the report of the Royal Commission of 1833 and the general enquiry into wages by the Board of Trade in 1886 two great changes had occurred in industry, viz.: the introduction of State regulation of the conditions of employment of women by the Factory Acts and the growth of Trade Union organisation as a factor in the improvement and standardisation of wages. The effect of these factors on the employment and wages of women are dealt with elsewhere in this report.

The Board of Trade enquiry of 1886 and the subsequent one of twenty years later have yielded the main statistics enabling the Committee on Women in Industry to appreciate the levels of wages in July, 1914, and the direction in which they were tending. The witnesses who appeared before the Committee were in all cases asked to form an estimate of the wages of women as they existed in their trade or industry immediately before the war, but few were able to submit detailed statistics. It has therefore appeared necessary, in order to obtain any trustworthy conception of what was then the relation between the wages of the two sexes, to take the official statistics for each trade and to bring them up to date as far as possible from the estimates given by the witnesses. The figures of the 1886 enquiry are given, wherever available, in order to show what improvement, if any, had been made in the level of women's wages. It must be borne in mind that the 1886 enquiry included only 151,263 women in its scope, so that the result can only be taken as a sample of the conditions obtaining in the country as a whole at that date. The 1906 return was much fuller, but it also was voluntary on the part of employers and therefore by no means complete. The figures for the clothing trades, for example, covered less than 29 per cent. of the factory and workshop operatives concerned, and since it is probable that the least satisfactory employers were not among those who made the return, the figures included in it must be looked upon as a favourable sample.* It is further necessary to point out that the comparison of figures of weekly

* The figures of the 1886 enquiry are to be found in the Board of Trade publication Cd. 6889 of 1893 and the figures of the 1906 enquiry in the Board of Trade report entitled "Earnings and Hours Enquiry" issued at various dates from 1906 to 1913 separately for each group of industries Cd. 4545, 4844, 5086, 5196, 5460, 5814, 6053 and 6556.

earnings of men and women, such as are general in this chapter, or indeed between any two classes of workpeople even in the same occupation, may be very deceptive, if it be assumed that their duties are identical. The Board of Trade returns seldom allow of a strict comparison in this respect. Similarly, great caution is required in comparing the wages of one period with another or of one district with another. For an exact comparison it would be necessary accurately to know:—

- (i) The number of hours worked.
- (ii) The conditions of the work, *e.g.*, the “pressure,” under which it was done.
- (iii) The times over which rates of wages have been earned, especially in seasonal trades.
- (iv) The real value of the wages, that is, their purchasing power and the standard of comfort of the place or period.
- (v) The existence of any non-money emoluments, such as free or assisted board, lodgings, fuel, conveyance, medical attendance, holidays with pay, use of land; and
- (vi) For an estimate of real value of wages, the average number of wage-earners or non-wage-earners to be supported from them.

Attempts have from time to time been made to provide an index figure to show the fluctuations of real wages, but materials are seldom available to allow of this being done with mathematical accuracy. The report of the Local Government Board for 1909* gives, following p. 36, a chart showing general average rates of wages and average prices (wholesale) of principal articles from 1850 to 1907, the general effect of which is to show that from 1873 to 1880 both wages and prices ascended almost equally, but that from 1880 to 1907, while wages rose fairly steadily, prices declined with almost equal steadiness, so that taking the rates and prices in 1850 as 100, the rates of wages in 1907 are represented by the figure 182 and the prices by 104. Any rise of wages occurring, therefore, in this period may be assumed to have been a rise in real wages.

In the following survey of wages in the various industries an attempt has been made to point out any outstanding factors which notably reduce the value of any comparison between men's and women's wages.

43. Metal Trades.—The 1886 Board of Trade Return shows no women employed in engineering and the numbers given for the other metal trades are very small. 507 women were returned in tinplate works, of whom 202 earned under 10*s.* a week and 305 earned 10*s.* and under 15*s.*, with an average of 10*s.* 4*d.*, the average of men being 33*s.* 5*d.* 110 women are shown as working in brass works and metal wares, of whom 38 earned under 10*s.*; 41 earned 10*s.* and under 15*s.*; 11, 15*s.* and under 20*s.*; 18, 20*s.* and under 25*s.*; and 2 earned 25*s.* and under 30*s.*, with an average of 12*s.* 11*d.* The average weekly earnings of men were 29*s.* 7*d.*

The following Table gives comparison between the average earnings of women and girls, and men and boys who worked full time or less or

* Cd. 4671.

more than full time in the various metal trades in the last pay week of September, 1906:—

Trade.	Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work-people.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
Pig iron	33 1	12 9	—	—	32 3
Iron and steel	35 4	12 6	—	—	33 0
Tinplate	40 1	11 11	14 3	8 6	30 10
Engineering and boilermaking	31 11	10 1	12 6	7 11	27 3
Ship and boat building and repairing	32 10	12 0	14 5	7 4	28 11
Railway carriage and wagon building	29 6	11 10	13 11	7 11	26 11
Light iron castings, stoves, grates, &c.	29 0	10 5	9 5	6 8	24 3
Electrical, telegraph, &c., apparatus	33 6	10 6	13 5	8 1	23 11
Wire drawing and working	30 11	11 5	12 2	7 2	24 9
Brass and allied metal wares	30 10	10 2	11 7	6 10	20 11
Gold, silver, electro-plate, &c., wares	35 5	8 10	12 6	5 9	22 8
Jewellery	37 10	9 8	12 10	6 8	23 5
Edge tools, spades, files, &c.	30 6	9 7	11 6	6 9	24 8
Smelting, rolling, &c., of metals other than iron.	30 2	11 6	14 1	8 3	28 0
Cycle making and repairing	34 8	10 9	13 8	9 6	27 5
Tubes	27 10	10 4	10 2	6 11	24 6
Nails, screws, nuts, &c.	29 7	10 3	10 7	7 3	18 2
Bedsteads	33 8	11 7	14 2	6 10	26 4
Farriery and general smiths' work	27 10	8 2	—	—	22 11
Scientific instruments	35 9	9 0	11 8	6 6	26 6
Needles, fish-hooks and fishing tackle	30 2	9 6	12 11	6 11	17 4
Chains, anchors, &c.	33 11	11 9	7 6	6 0	31 7
Locks, latches, keys, &c.	25 6	9 4	9 1	5 9	17 7
Watch and clock making and repairing	30 1	7 8	8 11	5 11	21 5
Typefoundry	29 8	8 11	10 10	7 0	21 8
Other metal	31 7	10 2	11 3	6 11	23 10
All above trades	32 3	10 7	12 2	7 2	27 5

It will be observed that while the average weekly earnings of women were 12*s.* 2*d.*, the range was between 7*s.* 6*d.* paid in the chain trade, shortly afterwards scheduled under the Trade Board Act as being a sweated industry and conducted very largely, as far as the women were concerned, at home at irregular hours by domestic workers, and 14*s.* 5*d.* paid in the ship and boat building and repairing. The four trades with average weekly earnings below 10*s.* did not represent a large proportion of the workers and the figures in general show an increase of 25 per cent. on the average earnings for full time in 1886.

44. General Engineering.—Turning to the evidence given before the Committee, it was stated as regards general engineering in the Midland district, that an employer would have had no difficulty before the war in obtaining female labour in the Dudley and Wolverhampton districts for 8*s.* or 9*s.* a week. In the lighter trades many young girls between 14 and 20 were employed at wages ranging between 3*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* a week. But a woman of 21 would ordinarily get 12*s.* a week, the rate for a male labourer being 23*s.*, and on the 7th July, 1913, the following rates were agreed between the Midland Employers' Federation, the Workers' Union, the National Union of Gas Workers, and

the Amalgamated Workers', Brickmakers' and General Labourers' Union.

<i>Youths.</i>				<i>Girls.</i>			
<i>Age.</i>			<i>s. d.</i>	<i>Age.</i>			<i>s. d.</i>
14	...	...	7 0	14	...	...	6 0
15	...	...	9 0	15	...	...	6 6
16	...	...	11 0	16	...	...	7 0
17	...	...	13 0	17	...	...	8 0
18	...	...	15 0	18	...	...	9 0
19	...	...	17 0	19	...	...	10 0
20	...	...	19 0	20	...	...	11 0
				21	...	...	12 0

These were time rates, which were always paid in the warehouse, but many women in the Engineering Trades, especially those whose output was of a "repetition" nature, were paid on piece and their earnings are difficult to assess. The weekly earnings of women on piecework making nails, screws and rivets are stated to have been 12s. to 14s., and of those on bolts and nuts 16s. to 18s.

The standard time rates of the Engineering Trades were settled by collective bargaining between the two great Employers' Associations and four or five craft Unions of skilled men. It does not appear that the Unions ever concerned themselves with the rates paid to women, who were not admitted to membership. So far as the interests of the women were protected at all, it was by the general lesser-skilled Unions and the National Federation of Women Workers. The adult woman's standard time rate of 12s. is comparable with the recognised Birmingham Amalgamated Society of Engineers rate for a skilled fitter—38s., and the minimum district rate for a labourer in the Engineering Trade—23s.

It will be noted that girls and boys alike were paid on a scale for age. Also that the boys start at a slightly higher rate and rise much more rapidly than do girls of corresponding ages. Female labour in the Engineering Trade was in fact classified by the employers who appeared before the Committee with that of boys and both alike as auxiliary to men's labour. At Messrs. Kynoch's, where the bulk of the work consisted of small arms cartridge-case manufacture, paid on piece, the average rate for women and girls in 1913 was 10s. 6d. a week.

45. Other Metal Trades.—In the *Light Castings* Trade, in 1914, women who did auxiliary work in the warehouses or blacking departments would earn from 12s. to 15s. a week, and here again witnesses urged that the earnings of women should be compared, not with those of men, but with those of youths, owing to the nature of the work performed by them. In the *Cycle and Motor* Trade the average weekly wages before the war were, according to the Manufacturers' and Traders' Union, 13s. 3d. for women and young persons, and 33s. 10d. for men. 65 per cent. of the former were 18 and over and had weekly earnings averaging 15s. 3d., with minimum of 7s. and maximum of 45s. The remainder under 18 earned on an average 9s. 6d. The corresponding earnings of males were between 9s. and 65s., men (76 per cent.) averaging 41s., and lads averaging 11s. 6d. In the *Sheffield Light*

Trades, the only evidence given to the Committee as to pre-war wage conditions was that these were in certain cases regulated by negotiation and agreement between the employers and the representative Trade Union, that where piece-work obtained there was no guaranteed time-rate, and that in those operations where the same operations were performed by men and women, the earnings of the women were generally less than those of the men. In the *Metal Small-ware Trades* (pins, buttons, &c.), the women were unorganised and their average earnings were estimated at 10s. to 12s. a week, with 8s. for young persons. As regards *Metals other than Iron and Steel*, the witnesses who represented the Brassfounders' Employers before the Committee stated that the district rate for women just before the war ranged from 12s. to about 18s. on day work, according to age and experience, and that piece-workers would get 25 per cent. or 30 per cent. more; the lowest rate for men was 25s. with a 25 per cent. bonus. The women were mainly employed in that trade on mechanical repetition work with fool-proof machines. The piece rates were fixed for the women on the basis of prices paid for similar articles and not on the individual woman's time rate. The system was admitted to have been somewhat haphazard and unsatisfactory. Many of the women worked for sub-contractors. While the men in that trade were fully organised and paid according to an elaborate system of grades of skill with trade tests to determine the grade, the women had no organisation and no standard rate.

In general it may be stated that the system prevailing for women in the Metal Trades was that of a rough scale rising according to age and experience from about 6s. at 14 to 15s. or 16s. at full age. Higher earnings, sometimes in the neighbourhood of 25s., were made on piece-work, but exceptionally.

46. Chemical Trades.—The only trade of the chemical group which is mentioned in the 1886 Tables is "Chemical Manure Works," where the percentage of women was only 2·8, and the average weekly earnings 8s. 9d., compared with 23s. for men. In the 1906 Return, Chemical Works are included with the Pottery, Brick and Glass Trades, and as the whole group only contains 14·6 per cent. of women and girls, it is clear that the number of women in the chemical trades must have been very small. The average earnings of those working full time were:—

Trade.	Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work-people.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Chemical Manufacture	29 1	10 3	10 8	7 4	27 5
White Salt	29 0	9 8	10 1	6 11	24 0
Other Chemicals	26 10	10 5	11 8	6 9	21 2
Explosives	31 6	15 5	13 1	8 1	26 3
Soap and Candle	29 2	11 0	12 5	8 6	20 6

In Seed-Crushing and Oil, now, though not in 1906, included in the Chemical Trades, men then earned an average of 25s. 10d. weekly, and women 10s. 8d.

The percentage of women working full time whose earnings in an ordinary week of 1906 fell within the undermentioned limits were as follows:—

Trade.	Under 10s.	10s. and under 15s.	15s. and under 20s.	20s. and under 25s.	25s. and above.	Average Earnings for full time.
						s. d.
White Salt	51·6	46·3	1·6	—	0·5	10·1
Other Chemicals	29·0	56·0	12·1	2·2	0·7	11·8
Explosives	32·3	35·0	16·6	6·6	9·5	13 1
Soap and Candle	24·3	50·5	20·6	3·9	0·7	12·5

Most of these women were time-workers except in the Soap and Candle Trade, where more than half were piece-workers.

Most of these trades were represented by witnesses before the Committee. As regards *Heavy Chemicals*, in which trades there was no regular system of wages for women, the United Alkali Company's representative stated that they employed about 50 girls before the war and paid them, according to age, on time from 14s. to £1 a week. In the *Salt Trade*, girls employed on packeting would earn between 16s. and £1 on piece-work. The Salt Union also employed women casually in stitching bags, and such women would earn an average of 10s., though they seldom worked a full week. The women packers employed in the *Drug and Fine Chemicals Trade* earned from 12s. 6d. to 20s. before the war, generally on time-work. The employers in this trade sought to obtain a better class of labour than sufficed for ordinary industrial work in factories. They generally paid more than the district rates for such labour. Men and women were occasionally working side by side on such jobs as packing for transport, and in such cases women would earn 65 per cent. of the men's rates. Witnesses who represented the *Seed-Crushing Association* estimated the pre-war average of women at 13s. 6d. to 15s. at a time when the labourers' wage for men was 24s. Manufacturers of *Explosives* made considerable use of female labour, especially on work in connection with cotton as the raw material. Messrs. Nobel employed 596 women at Ardeer, of whom 422 were piece-workers. The work was not identical with that done by men, but the average earnings of the piece-workers were approximately equal to those of the lowest rated male time-workers, *i.e.*, about 23s. a week. Their female time-workers were rated at about 2¾d. an hour less than the minimum rate for male semi-skilled workers, *i.e.*, from 2½d. to 4d. an hour. The male workers, who were represented by the Scottish Dockers' Union, had a system of annual review of rates and although the females were not subject to the same arrangement, the firm was accustomed to give them half the amount of any increase arranged for the men. At Kynochtown the pre-war wage for men was 5¾d. an hour, and their weekly earnings 28s. 3d., while the women's wage was 2½d. an hour and their weekly earnings 12s. 4d., these rates being regulated only by local conditions. At Messrs. Curtis's & Harvey's works, the average women's wage before the war was 17s. 6d. weekly, just half of the average men's wage, the women being mostly employed on piece-work. There, too, the rates were fixed by the management on the basis of local custom. The Cotton Powder Co. normally employed its women on the premium bonus system, men and women working together in squads. Women earned, approximately, one-third less than the men. The Employers' Federation in the *Soap and Candle Trade* employed about 25 per cent. of

women before the war, of whom a considerable proportion were under 18. The young girls would start at 5s. or 6s. a week and receive annual increases, until at 18 and over the rates of earnings varied from 12s. to 22s., the higher rate being earned on piece-work. Such work as packing, stamping and wrapping of soap was done on piece. Rates were based on the custom of various districts, and varied by 3s. or 4s. weekly, according to the district. They were graduated according to the age of the worker. Candle making was entirely done on piece, and the same rates were paid to men and women where they were jointly employed.

47. Textile Trades.—The enquiry of 1886 gave the following figures of the average normal wages paid to women :—

Trade.	Under 10s.		10s. and under 15s.		15s. and under 20s.		20s. and under 25s.		25s. and under 30s.		Total.	Average Wages per Head.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	s. d.
Cotton... ..	776	1·2	31,459	49·7	22,707	35·9	8,174	12·9	192	0·3	6,398	15 3
Woollen	1,372	8·2	11,175	67·2	4,082	24·5	10	0·1	—	—	16,639	13 3
Worsted and Stuff Mfr... ..	4,086	24·2	12,714	75·1	125	0·7	—	—	—	—	16,925	11 11
Linen	17,115	78·0	4,696	21·4	128	0·6	—	—	—	—	21,939	8 11
Jute	8,023	73·5	2,886	26·5	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,909	9 7
Hemp, &c.	657	50·6	635	48·9	6	0·5	—	—	—	—	1,298	9 8
Silk	2,848	54·9	2,193	42·2	151	2·9	—	—	—	—	5,192	10 1
Carpet... ..	240	18·1	997	75·2	89	6·7	—	—	—	—	1,326	11 1
Hosiery	558	25·4	1,360	61·9	278	12·7	—	—	—	—	2,196	11 6
Lace	168	19·3	557	64·2	143	16·5	—	—	—	—	868	12 8
Smallwares	1,879	24·1	5,900	75·8	9	0·1	—	—	—	—	7,788	10 9
Flock & Shoddy	236	59·7	159	40·3	—	—	—	—	—	—	395	9 9

Generally corresponding figures for 1906 are given below. It should, however, be noted that they are for full time-workers only, and on this account may be expected to show considerably more favourable results than the figures for 1886, apart from any actual increase in wages :—

Trade.	Under 10s.	10s. and under 15s.	15s. and under 20s.	20s. and under 25s.	25s. and under 30s.	30s. and above.	Average Earnings.
							<i>s. d.</i>
Cotton	3·0	20·9	35·4	29·9	9·6	1·2	18 8
Woollen and Worsted	10·7	55·6	24·7	7·6	1·2	0·2	13 10
Linen	41·7	49·1	8·5	0·6	0·1	—	10 9
Jute	6·2	66·4	25·9	1·4	0·1	—	13 5
Silk	38·9	47·8	11·4	1·6	0·3	—	11 2
Hosiery	14·5	44·4	30·3	9·1	1·4	0·3	14 3
Lace	18·1	49·3	25·1	5·7	1·3	0·5	13 5
Carpet	15·3	49·8	28·2	6·5	0·2	—	13 8
Hemp	47·1	39·6	10·5	2·6	0·1	0·1	10 11
Smallwares	32·2	53·0	13·7	1·0	—	0·1	11 5
Flock and Shoddy ...	10·9	75·9	12·8	0·4	—	—	12 3
Elastic Web	21·8	65·5	12·3	0·4	—	—	11 8
Hair	51·9	45·3	2·8	—	—	—	9 4
Other Textile	18·3	44·5	30·3	6·1	0·7	0·1	13 7
Fustian and Cord Cutting	47·1	41·7	6·8	3·7	0·7	—	10 10
Bleaching, Printing, &c.	27·0	51·6	15·6	5·3	0·3	0·2	12 4
All above trades ...	13·3	38·8	26·9	15·8	4·6	0·6	15 5

Thus, in cotton manufacture the percentage of women earning less than 15s. had fallen from 50·9 per cent. to 23·9 per cent., and the percentage of women earning 25s. and over had risen from 0·3 per cent. to 10·8 per cent. In woollen and worsted manufacture the percentage of women earning under 15s. had declined from 75·4 per cent. to 66·3 per cent.; in linen, from 99·4 per cent. to 90·8 per cent.; in jute, from 100 per cent. to 72·6 per cent.; in silk, from 97·1 per cent. to 86·7 per cent.; in hosiery, from 87·3 per cent. to 58·9 per cent.; in lace, from 83·5 per cent. to 67·4 per cent. The 1906 Table shows, however, that it was only the cotton industry which offered a reasonable possibility to women of earning more than 25s. a week, while in the linen, silk, hemp, smallwares, hair and fustian cutting trades a very large number of the women employed earned less than 10s. a week. In the 20 years' interval between the two reports the machines used in textile processes had been considerably improved, new processes had been introduced and the classes of goods manufactured had changed with the fashion and standard of living. The improved machinery had in some cases rendered it possible for an operative to attend a greater number of machines and so to increase output and earnings.

The reduction from 56½ to 55½ on January 1st, 1902, in the number of hours in the week during which work might be carried on in textile factories by women and young persons is not likely to have affected output or earnings appreciably. A really important factor influencing the comparison is that the year 1886 was a period of depression in the textile industry, while 1906 was a year of good employment. The Board of Trade Report of 1906 remarked that in arriving at the principal average rise of wages in the interval, the percentage increase should be reduced approximately one-fifth. The following Table gives the average earnings for full time (counting two half-timers as one full-timer) for men and women in the principal textile trades in 1886 and 1906:—

TRADE.	ALL MALES.			ALL FEMALES.			ALL WORKPEOPLE.		
	1886.	1906.	Percentage increase.	1886.	1906.	Percentage increase or decrease.	1886.	1906.	Percentage increase or decrease.
	Per week. s. d.	Per week. s. d.		Per week. s. d.	Per week. s. d.		Per week. s. d.	Per week. s. d.	
Cotton ...	19 4	24 7	+27	13 4	16 9	+26	15 8	19 11	+27
Woollen and Worsted.	18 7	21 10	+17	11 7	12 9	+10	14 4	16 2	+13
Linen ...	15 2	17 11	+18	8 2	10 2	+24	10 1	12 3	+21
Jute ...	14 1	18 2	+29	9 1	12 10	+41	10 6	14 4	+37
Silk ...	19 2	21 2	+10	9 4	10 9	+15	12 8	14 2	+12
Hosiery ...	23 8	26 11	+14	13 0	12 7	- 3	17 0	15 11	- 6
All above trades.	18 5	23 1	+25	11 7	14 3	+23	14 1	17 6	+24

48. Cotton Spinning and Weaving.—It appears from the Board of Trade Report of 1906 that the higher average earnings in cotton spinning and weaving were those for Burnley, Blackburn and Oldham,

the lower those for Leigh, Manchester, and "other places" in Lancashire, Cheshire, the rest of England, Wales and Scotland. These results are found to coincide with the high percentage of men employed in the one case and the low percentage in the other. Burnley weavers had the highest average rate of earnings for women, 24s. 11d. It is noticeable that in the spinning districts, as compared with the weaving districts, the earnings of men were high relatively to those of women. The net earnings of male mule spinners averaged 41s. 2d. after deduction of the piecer's wage. The ring spinners were mostly women time-workers averaging 15s. for a full week. Men and women when engaged on weaving were paid at exactly the same piece rates. On the average, however, women tended fewer looms than men and their earnings per loom were slightly lower than those of men. Men weaving on six looms averaged 32s. 10d. for full time; on four looms, 24s. 11d.; on three looms, 19s. 6d.; and on two looms, 21s. 7d. Women averaged 30s. 7d. on six looms; 23s. 5d. on four looms; 17s. 8d. on three looms; and 13s. 10d. on two. The lower earnings of women were due partly to the relatively greater proportion of narrow looms, partly to their greater dependence on the overlooker or the mechanic for help when anything went wrong with the loom, and partly to their more general employment of tenters whose wages have to be paid out of the weaver's gross earnings.

The proportion of piece-workers was much greater among women than among men, boys or girls. Among women only 10 per cent. were time-workers and those were mainly the ring-spinners. Piece-workers' wages were regulated by piece price lists often of very long standing, the Oldham spinning list dating from 1876, the Bolton list, with modifications, from 1858. The most important weavers' list was that of Blackburn, dating from 1853, but this and other weaving lists were replaced by the uniform list of 1892.

The following is a summary of average earnings for women on full time in the cotton trade, showing the increase between 1886 and 1906:—

Occupation.	1886.		1906.		Percentage increase.
	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Tenters (Piece)	15	3	19	6	28
Ring or throstle spinners (Time)	12	0	15	0	25
Reelers (Piece)	12	5	13	9	11
Winders (Piece)	12	5	15	4	23
Beam warpers (Piece)	18	2	21	6	18
Weavers (Piece) 3 looms	15	11	17	8	11
" " 4 "	19	11	23	5	18
" " 6 "	26	3	30	7	17

It does not appear that any marked change took place between 1906 and 1914. In giving evidence before the Committee Sir David Shackleton estimated the pre-war earnings of women in the cotton trade at from 18s. to 25s. weekly, while men ranged from 25s. to 30s. The Amalgamated Society of Card and Blowing Room Operatives informed the Committee that on an average no women employed in their section of the industry got less than 20s. a week before the war. Women cardroom operatives earned about 24s. Mr. Greenhalgh stated that on weaving women generally earned rather more than men, that is, from 28s. to 32s. on fine goods and 22s. to 25s. on coarse goods. The Secretary of the Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association expressed the opinion that weaving was not a man's job. The piece rates are traditional and have never been based on any definite time rate. They are uniform for men and women. The only exception to absolute equality

of pay for equal work appears to have occurred in the Bolton district, where the existence of large engineering works resulted in a surplus of female labour. A difference of 5*s.* a week between the wages of male and female cloth-lookers in favour of the men was thus accounted for.

49. Woollen and Worsted.—In the *Woollen and Worsted Industry* the following Table summarises the wage conditions of women in 1886 and 1906 :—

Occupation.	Average earnings for full time.		Per cent. Increase.
	1886.	1906.	
	Per week. <i>s. d.</i>	Per week. <i>s. d.</i>	
Scribblers, Feeders and Condenser Minders, Time	11 3	12 8	13
Combers Time	10 7	12 4	17
Finishers Time	9 6	10 11	15
Drawers { Time	10 0	11 0	10
Drawers { Piece	11 11	14 0	17
Worsted Spinners (Women and Girls) Time	8 3	9 5	14
Doublers... .. { Time	9 8	10 11	13
Doublers... .. { Piece	12 3	14 6	18
Winders { Time	9 8	10 11	13
Winders { Piece	11 10	13 9	16
Weavers (Power Loom) { Woollen Piece	14 4	15 9	10
Weavers (Power Loom) { Worsted Piece	13 7	14 9	9
Burlers and Knotters { Time	11 2	13 2	18
Burlers and Knotters { Piece	11 10	14 5	22
Menders and Fine Drawers { Time	13 4	14 11	12
Menders and Fine Drawers { Piece	14 3	17 8	24

In 1906 the average earnings of men in the whole industry were 26*s.* 10*d.*, and of women, 13*s.* 10*d.* As in the cotton industry, piece-rates were regulated on a traditional price list, though they were less elaborate and uniform. The weavers in Huddersfield were still nominally paid on a scale drawn up in 1883 which gave lower piece rates for women on the same class of work. The following Table shows the percentage numbers of women working full time whose earnings in the last pay week of September, 1906, fell within the limits mentioned :—

Occupation.	Under 10 <i>s.</i>	10 <i>s.</i> and under 15 <i>s.</i>	15 <i>s.</i> and under 20 <i>s.</i>	20 <i>s.</i> and above.
Woollen Weavers (1 loom) Piece	6·7	40·8	35·0	17·5
Worsted Weavers (1 loom) Piece	4·9	34·4	39·4	21·3
Worsted Weavers (2 looms) Piece	8·8	56·2	31·3	3·7
Scribblers, Feeders and Condenser Minders Time	12·3	70·7	16·9	0·1
Combers Time	3·9	86·3	9·8	—
Drawers Time	6·6	93·2	0·2	—
Worsted Spinners Time	46·9	53·1	0·0	—
Doublers { Time	10·9	89·0	0·1	—
Doublers { Piece	5·9	54·8	31·5	7·8
Winders { Time	17·0	78·6	4·0	0·4
Winders { Piece	13·5	53·4	23·5	9·6
Burlers and Knotters { Time	5·7	66·0	27·7	0·6
Burlers and Knotters { Piece	12·1	43·2	34·9	9·8
Menders and Fine Drawers... .. Piece	2·4	21·6	46·2	29·8
All Women	10·7	55·6	24·7	9·0

Thus, more than half the women working full time earned less than 15*s.* a week. The general average for girls working full time was 8*s.* 4*d.* The highest earnings of women were found among the woollen

weavers (19s. 6d.) and worsted weavers (19s. 11d.) of Huddersfield and the woollen weavers of Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles (20s. 1d.).

The National Society of Woolcombers and Kindred Trades told the Committee that the lowest rate paid to women before the war was 14s. 6d. In this trade the women were limited by the Factory Acts to day work and men who work on night shift, naturally received higher rates. Where men and women did work on the same processes by day the men received a higher rate, though the Society believed that the output of both sexes was equal. The employers were stated to make the distinction on the ground of the extra family responsibilities of the man.

Mr. Geoffrey Wood, who gave evidence before the Committee on behalf of the Woollen and Worsted Trades Federation, expressed the opinion that wages generally increased between 1906 and 1914. Figures taken in 1908 show that women warpers averaged 23s. 3d. weekly to the men's 27s. 8d. on the same piece-work scale. On weaving men were paid more than women. At Huddersfield in 1908 the men weavers averaged 26s. 4d. to the women's 19s. 6d., and in the fine worsted trade men averaged 26s. 1d. to the women's 19s. 11d., men's piece rates being 10 per cent. higher for the same work and their output also being greater by 22 per cent. The 1883 scale, if rigidly followed, would mean a higher rate for the men by 17 per cent., but in actual effect, though the women were paid on that scale, the employers had never applied it to the men. The reason given for paying a higher rate to the men was that they cost the employer less in supervision and could, if necessary, work overtime. In the worsted branch, the men's piece rates were about 7 per cent. or 8 per cent. more than the women's. This difference was stated to have the effect that it made no difference economically to the employer whether he employed men or women. As a rule, however, in the woollen industry, as in other textile trades, piece-rates were the same for men and women.

In the Scottish Tweed trade the piece prices were the same for men and for women, but women earned on the average less than the men where both were employed on the same occupation. On time-work the rate for men was higher than for women; for example, on "bank watching" men received 18s. 11d. a week to the women's 11s. 4d., the men looking after more machines. Neither the men nor the women were organised in this trade before the war. The wages were said to be higher in Hawick than elsewhere owing to competition with the hosiery trade, which is lighter and cleaner work.

50. Linen.—In the *Linen Trade*, in which women formed 58 per cent. of the total number of workers in 1906, time rates were nearly universal in the preliminary processes and for spinning. Piece rates were paid for reeling, winding and weaving. The following Table gives the average earnings of women working full time in 1886 and 1906:—

Occupation:					1886.	1906.	Percentage increase.
					Per week. s. d.	Per week. s. d.	
Men :—							
Roughers	...	...	...	Piece	18 6	21 8	17
Sorters	...	...	...	Piece	23 1	26 3	14
Women :—							
Drawers and Backminders...	...	...	...	Time	6 10	9 4	37
Spinners	...	...	...	Time	8 5	10 5	24
Reelers	...	...	...	Piece	8 11	11 3	26
Winders	...	...	...	Piece	9 3	11 3	22
Weavers	...	...	...	Piece	9 5	11 6	22

The great majority of the women working full time in this trade earned less than 15s. a week, as is shown in the following Table:—

Occupation.	Under 10s.	10s. and under 15s.	15s. and under 20s.	20s. and over.
Spinners Time	39·7	60·1	0·2	—
Reelers Piece	37·9	57·6	4·4	0·1
Winders Piece	36·2	51·2	11·8	0·8
Weavers (2 loom) ... Piece	33·3	52·0	13·6	1·1
All Women	41·7	49·1	8·5	0·7

Average earnings of men in 1906, including mechanics and foremen, were 22s. 4d., compared with an average of 10s. 9d. for women.

The Committee took no evidence with regard to this trade.

51. **Jute.**—In the *Jute* Industry, which is practically confined to Dundee and its neighbourhood, the following Table shows the average earnings for women working full time in 1886 and 1906:—

Occupation.	1886.	1906.	Percentage increase.
	Per week. s. d.	Per week. s. d.	
Carders Time	7 9	10 8	38
Drawers Time	7 8	11 4	48
Rovers Time	8 6	11 10	39
Feeders Time	7 9	11 9	52
Spinners Time	8 3	12 3	48
Reelers Piece	9 11	14 11	50
Winders Piece	10 6	14 6	38
Warpers Piece	12 1	16 2	34
Weavers (1 loom) ... Piece	9 6	13 11	46
Weavers (2 loom) ... Piece	12 8	15 0	18

In this trade men formed only one-fifth of the persons employed and women nearly three-fifths; over half of these were spinners and weavers, the spinners being nearly all time-workers and the weavers piece-workers, the majority of whom earned between 10s. and 15s. a week. The time-workers' earnings varied only between 10s. 8d. for carders and 12s. 3d. for spinners. The following Table gives details of the wage levels for women in this trade in 1906:—

Occupation.	Under 10s.	10s. and under 15s.	15s. and under 20s.	20s. and above.
Carders	25·8	73·1	1·1	—
Drawers	12·2	87·8	—	—
Spinners	0·6	92·7	6·7	—
Winders	0·7	57·0	40·3	2·0
Weavers (1 loom) ...	7·1	58·7	32·0	2·2
Weavers (2 loom) ...	3·2	43·2	50·3	3·3
All Women	6·2	66·4	25·9	1·5

The average earnings of men in 1906 were 21*s.* 7*d.* a week, of lads and boys working full time 11*s.* 4*d.*, of women 13*s.* 5*d.*, of girls working full time 10*s.*, and of all workpeople 14*s.* 3*d.*

The Committee took no evidence with regard to this trade.

52. **Silk.**—In the *Silk* Trade the following Table compares the earnings of women in 1886 and 1906:—

Occupation.	1886.	1906.	Percentage increase.
	Per week.	Per week.	
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	
Winders (Thrown Silk) Time	8 0	8 11	11
Cleaners " " Time	7 6	8 8	16
Doublers " " Time	9 0	10 2	13
Preparers and Carders Time	10 4	11 3	9
Weavers Piece	13 0	14 6	12

About half the number of women employed were time-workers. The highest wages in this trade were made by the piece-workers engaged on weaving in the Congleton, Leek and Macclesfield district, but, as a rule, wages were rather higher in Lancashire and Yorkshire than in the other centres of the trade, no doubt owing to the competition of other industries. The following Table shows the percentage numbers of women working full time whose earnings in the last pay week of September, 1906, fell within the limits mentioned:—

Occupation.	Under 10 <i>s.</i>	10 <i>s.</i> and under 15 <i>s.</i>	15 <i>s.</i> and under 20 <i>s.</i>	20 <i>s.</i> and above.
Winders (Thrown Silk) ... Time	86·3	13·7	—	—
Weavers (Power Loom) ... Piece	26·4	51·2	18·4	4·0
All Women	38·9	47·8	11·4	1·9

The average weekly earnings for men in 1906 were 25*s.* 8*d.* per week, as compared with 11*s.* 2*d.* for all women, but as was explained to the Committee, the work of men and women in this trade was not comparable.

53. **Hosiery.**—In *Hosiery*, the period between 1885 and 1904 was marked by a great decrease in domestic industry and a concentration of work in the factories. During that period the number of people employed in hosiery factories almost doubled, and the number of out-workers or hand workers greatly dwindled. The respective full-time earnings

in factories and workshops of all males, all females and all workpeople counting two half-timers as one full-timer were as follows:—

—	1886.	1906.	Percentage increase (+) or decrease (—).
	Per week. <i>s. d.</i>	Per week. <i>s. d.</i>	
All Males	23 8	26 11	+14
All Females	13 0	12 7	— 3
All Workpeople	17 0	15 11	— 6

The fall in wages of females was due mainly to the increase in the proportion of girls employed which was itself occasioned by the improvement of mechanical processes. Details of the earnings of women working full time in 1906 are summarised in the following Table:—

—	Under 10s.	10s. and under 15s.	15s. and under 20s.	20s. and above.
Circular Power Frame Workers	9·5	39·9	30·5	20·1
Circular Knitting Machine Workers	16·9	51·4	25·6	6·1
Linkers or Turners-off	13·2	36·4	34·5	15·9
Menders	9·9	46·2	38·1	5·8
Sewing Machinists	14·7	38·2	32·6	14·5
All Women	14·5	44·4	29·3	10·8

Women form over 50 per cent. of the total number returned and the majority were paid on piece. In the towns of Leicester, Hinckley and Nottingham, the wages of the frame workers were governed by a list of standard piece rates.

The witnesses for the Leicester and Leicestershire Hosiery Union informed the Committee that where men and women worked on the same process the man would probably work two more machines than the woman. The average wage for women before the war was estimated at about 23s. a week to the men's 40s., a substantial increase over the figures of 1906, the increased earnings being attributable to improved machinery. The witnesses admitted, however, that there might be as much as 10s. a week variation between one worker and another owing to individual variations of capacity. Where time-work was necessary the usual rate for women was 4d. an hour; for men 8d. an hour. The Hawick Hosiery Manufacturers' Federation told the Committee that a girl was expected to make from 20s. to 24s. weekly. On power frames women averaged 35s. weekly. Men were employed on the same piece rates and as their output was approximately equal, their earnings were the same. Forewomen and women employed as cutters in the warehouse were on time-work, and their earnings were from 18s. to 25s. a week. Men on time rates earned from 26s. to 43s. weekly. Generally the

women's time-work rate was 25 per cent. lower than the men's but the work was not comparable. The demand for labour in Hawick always exceeded the supply.

54. **Lace.**—In the *Lace* Trade materials are wanting for a comparison with 1886 as the lace makers were working short time at the period of that enquiry. By 1906 there had been a considerable increase in factory employment, though a large number of home workers were still employed in connection with the factories. The following Table shows the percentage numbers of women working full time whose earnings in the last pay week of September, 1906, fell within the limits mentioned:—

Occupation.					Under 10s.	10s. and under 15s.	15s. and under 20s.	20s. and above.
Slip Winders	...	...	...	Piece	17·8	60·2	17·6	4·4
Menders	...	...	...	Piece	28·2	45·0	21·8	5·0
All Women	...	...	...	...	18·1	49·3	25·1	7·5

The average of 32·6 women earning more than 15s. a week places this trade among the better paid industries. There were considerable local variations, the average weekly earnings of women in Nottingham being 14s. 11d., whereas in the rest of England, excluding the counties of Notts., Derby and North Staffordshire, they were only 12s. Men earned on an average 39s. 6d. taking the whole of the United Kingdom together, or approximately three times the earnings of women. The wages of lace makers, and certain classes of auxiliary workers in Nottingham were regulated by standard piece price lists.

55. **Miscellaneous Textiles.**—With regard to the *Miscellaneous Textiles* the following Table summarises the position in 1906:—

Trade.	Men.	Lads and Boys.		Women.	Girls.		All Work-people.
		Full Timers.	Half Timers.		Full Timers.	Half Timers.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Carpet	26 7	9 6	3 7	13 8	7 9	3 3	16 7
Hemp...	25 4	8 6	2 9	10 11	7 1	3 1	14 5
Smallwares	26 6	7 9	2 7	11 5	6 4	2 5	12 6
Flock and Shoddy	23 9	11 8	—	12 3	8 9	—	18 4
Elastic Web	30 3	10 8	—	11 8	6 6	—	14 9
Hair	21 3	7 5	—	9 4	7 0	—	12 11
Other Textile	25 8	9 6	3 10	13 7	7 1	3 3	16 2
Fustian and Cord Cutting.	24 1	9 10	—	10 10	8 2	—	13 8

All these trades employ a substantial proportion of women. The hemp trade includes the makers of rope and twine, sail makers, tarpaulin makers, mat weavers and makers, and is distributed throughout the country. Smallwares includes the manufacture of braids, tapes, gimps and trimmings, &c., and is mainly carried on in the Midlands and Manchester. The industry known as Flock and Shoddy includes rag

sorting, cutting and grinding, as carried on in connection with the textile trades in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It does not include the ordinary rag gatherers and sorters employed throughout the country. The women rag sorters working full time averaged 13s. 2d. on piece-work and 11s. 7d. on time-work; nearly 76 per cent. of them earned between 10s. and 15s. per week. Elastic web is a small, well-defined industry mainly centred in Nottingham, Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire. The men weavers working full time showed the highest average for weavers in any of the textile trades, namely, 34s. 5d. For the women weavers the average full time earnings were lower than in many of the other textile trades, being only 12s. 9d. on piece-work. Hair manufacture is a small trade carried on in different parts of the country, but mainly in the eastern counties of England and Scotland. The men are mainly drawers and weavers; the women curlers and weavers. It is a low paid industry throughout. Men weavers working full time averaged only 16s. and women weavers 8s. 7d. Fifty-two per cent. of the women working full time earned less than 10s. a week, and over 45 per cent. between 10s. and 15s. Fustian and Cord Cutting is the name given to the process by which the pile is raised on fustian, corduroy and velveteen, and similar cotton goods. Though classified among the textile trades it does not include weaving processes. Employment according to the 1906 return was very irregular and much short time was worked. The average earnings for those who did work a full week were 10s. in the case of women cutters, 21s. 9d. in the case of men cutters, 47 per cent. of the women earned less than 10s. a week.

The Committee took no evidence with regard to the Miscellaneous Textile Industries.

56. Bleaching, Printing, Dyeing and Finishing.—In the *Bleaching, Printing, Dyeing and Finishing* of textile fabrics a great majority of the employees were men and boys. No figures were given for 1886, but in 1906 the average earnings of women working full time were 12s. 4d., and girls 8s. 3d., the average earnings of men were between 28s. 10d. and 30s. 2d. in England and Wales, but only 20s. 8d. in Ireland and 24s. 8d. in Scotland, making an average for the whole country of 27s. 8d. The great majority of the women and girls employed were time-workers.

This section of the industry was represented before the Committee by employers and operatives. The Employers' Federation of Dyers and Bleachers stated that there were few processes on which men and women were employed together before the war. An adult woman on piece-work would earn from 20s. to 24s., and on time-work 15s. or 16s. weekly. The men piece-workers earned about 40s. to 45s., and the time-workers 30s. or 35s. weekly. The National Society of Dyers, the Amalgamated Society of Dyers and Finishers, and the Bolton Amalgamation of the Operative Bleachers, Dyers and Finishers, who gave evidence on behalf of the workpeople in this trade, stated that in bleaching cotton goods in Lancashire, women were largely employed in sets or gangs on piece-work. In certain cases men and women worked together in the same "pool," and in that case the piece-work earnings were distributed on a ratal system, the fully competent woman receiving about 50 per cent. of the amount received by the fully competent man, youths and girls getting proportionately lower sums according to their age and experience. This division of the pool was justified as an old established custom, and on the ground that the men did the heavy part of the work. A man piece-worker would earn about 26s. and a woman 18s. In calico printing also a pooling system prevailed by which men and women shared the payment

made for the number of pieces printed proportionately to assumed day rates.

57. Clothing Trades.—The Wages Enquiry of 1886 only elicited returns covering about 10,000 persons in the whole of the clothing industry. Its results, therefore, cannot be accepted as authoritative. One hundred and twenty-eight women in the Bespoke Tailoring Trade, indoor workers only, averaged 15s. 3d. weekly, with the comparatively high average of 20s. 3d. for London, while 468 men tailors averaged 31s. 7d., which includes the very big figure of 85s. 6d. for the average earnings of 13 men cutters in London. In Dressmaking, Millinery and Mantlemaking, the numbers returned are too small to be worth regard; the wages of 263 women employed as machinists in the Baby Linen and Ladies' Underclothing Trades averaged 13s. weekly.

The following Table gives for the Clothing trades the average earnings of all workpeople who worked full time in the last pay-week of September, 1906:—

Trade.	Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work-people.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
Dress, Millinery, &c. (Workshop) ...	50 11	7 5	13 10	3 9	11 2
Dress, Millinery, &c. (Factory) ...	31 8	9 11	15 5	6 4	14 10
Shirt, Blouse, Underclothing, &c. ...	29 10	8 9	13 4	6 9	12 8
Tailoring (Bespoke) ...	33 6	6 11	14 2	5 5	22 1
Tailoring (Ready-made) ...	31 11	9 9	12 11	6 6	14 8
Boot and Shoe (Ready-made) ...	28 8	10 6	13 1	6 10	19 5
Boot, Shoe and Clog Making (Bespoke) and Repairing.	27 3	8 3	12 6	6 11	22 11
Silk and Felt Hat ...	34 3	12 7	16 4	7 8	22 1
Leather Glove ...	29 7	7 7	12 1	5 11	16 8
Corset (Factory) ...	28 11	10 4	12 2	6 3	12 5
Fur... ..	35 7	10 6	16 7	7 2	20 10
Straw Hat and Bonnet ...	36 7	10 1	19 10	11 2	22 8
Other Clothing ...	30 3	11 4	12 11	6 2	13 6
Dyeing and Cleaning ...	29 6	10 7	13 10	7 2	17 7
Laundry (Factory) ...	26 2	8 9	12 10	6 6	13 0
Laundry (Workshop) ...	22 6	9 4	12 9	6 7	12 7
All above industries ...	30 2	9 8	13 6	5 9	15 1

58. Tailoring.—The *Tailoring* Trade is divided into Ready-made and Bespoke work, the latter almost entirely executed in workshops or in the workers' home, with a minimum of subdivision of labour, though there is a growing tendency to carry on the work in the workshops with subdivided labour. Ready-made clothing is mainly manufactured in factories or else cut out in factories or warehouses and given out to be made up in workshops in which subdivision of labour is adopted, or to be machined or finished by women in their own homes. Midway between these two classes of tailoring a third is growing very general, viz., the factory-made bespoke work, where the customer's measure is taken in the retail clothiers' shop, is sent on as a special order to the factory, and the clothes are then manufactured by power-driven machinery and minute subdivision of labour. In the bespoke tailoring trade the average earnings of all workpeople, including those who worked less or more than full time

in the last pay-week of September, 1906, in various districts were as follows:—

District.	Men.	Lads and Boys (Full Timers).	Women.	Girls (Full Timers).	All Work-people.
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
Northern Counties and Cleveland ...	27 5	7 0	12 1	5 4	21 0
Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire ...	29 3	7 11	13 7	5 4	20 6
North and West Midland Counties ...	30 9	7 7	13 4	5 3	19 5
London	41 7	10 3	15 5	7 4	26 10
Rest of England and Wales	28 11	5 1	11 4	3 11	19 7
Scotland	27 4	6 7	13 6	5 11	20 3
Ireland	26 11	5 7	11 11	4 11	21 2
United Kingdom	29 7	6 11	13 4	5 5	21 0

The higher standard of earnings in London is conspicuous in this Table. Nearly two-fifths of the women included were machinists, the majority being on time-work and averaging 14s. 3d. for full time. A piece-worker generally did not work full time, and this is said to be one of the features of the trade.

In the ready-made clothing trade the average earnings of workpeople who worked full time in the last pay-week of September, 1906, in various districts were as follows:—

District.	Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work-people.
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
Leeds	31 11	9 4	13 8	7 7	15 2
Manchester	33 11	9 1	13 7	6 1	15 7
Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire (excluding Leeds and Manchester).	29 0	9 11	13 6	7 10	14 5
Bristol	34 9	8 11	11 10	5 1	13 7
North and West Midland Counties (excluding Bristol).	32 7	10 0	12 10	5 4	14 1
Norwich	28 4	8 7	10 9	5 6	12 2
South Midland and Eastern Counties (excluding Norwich).	28 0	10 2	12 8	6 1	14 4
London*	36 2	11 11	11 11	6 0	18 4
Rest of England and Wales	32 3	9 5	14 0	5 5	15 7
Scotland	36 0	9 6	13 11	6 1	15 0
Ireland	29 6	9 10	10 1	5 2	10 6
United Kingdom*	31 11	9 9	12 11	6 6	14 8

In this case more than half the total number of women were power machinists working on piece-work and earning an average of 13s. 5d. for full time. The hand sewers averaged only 11s. 4d. for full time on piece-work.

Trade Boards for the ready-made and wholesale bespoke Tailoring Trade were constituted in Great Britain and in Ireland by Orders of the 25th July, 1910, and 23rd August, 1910, and before the war had determined minimum hourly rates in Great Britain of 6d. for males and 3½d. for females. The regulations only covered manufacture of male garments by subdivisational methods.

* Excluding 2,257 workpeople employed in the Royal Army Clothing Factory at Pimlico, in which the average earnings of workpeople working full time in the last pay-week of September, 1906, were 29s. 9d. for men, 8s. 4d. for lads and boys, 20s. 11d. for women, 7s. 9d. for girls, and 23s. 1d. for all workpeople.

Sir Maurice Levy, who gave evidence on behalf of the Wholesale Clothiers before the Committee, stated that in Leicester the hourly rates in operation before the war were considerably higher than the Trade Board minima. Women were earning on an average 6d. an hour on piece-work, or 25s. a week, while men earned from 40s. to 45s. as fitters, somewhat more as pressers, and 50s. to 60s. as cutters. The higher wages at Leicester were due to the greater competition for labour, and these again made it necessary to turn out a higher class of goods. Another Midland firm gave 20s. as the average women's wage in the Tailoring Trade before the war, against 35s. for men, while a third stated that for machining, finishing and passing work, women were paid 18s., 17s. 6d. and 20s. respectively, and men, in so far as they did these operations, 32s. One Leeds firm paid male pressers 8d. and 9d. an hour, and female pressers 5d. and 6d., and another, which only employed women on sewing machines, and employed them exclusively, paid 4d. an hour on the average, taking skilled and unskilled workers and learners altogether. Mr. J. Young, of the United Garment Makers' Union, informed the Committee that the Trade Board minima were too low, and that the rate for women (3½d.), as fixed before the war, had not then come into force. The rate had been of no service in the towns, but only in the lower paid districts, particularly in the West of England and the Eastern Counties. It had, however, helped the Trade Unions to organise the women, but their organisation was still defective in the districts mentioned. Mr. Gurney Rowleson, of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses, stated before the Committee that a woman fully employed would earn from 17s. to 24s. a week in the London tailoring trade, whereas the male tailor would earn 60s., but for this money the woman had to work abnormally hard.

59. Shirt making.—The *Shirt Making Trade* includes factories and workshops manufacturing shirts, collars, ladies' underclothing, aprons, pinafores, handkerchiefs, &c., and blouses wherever not manufactured in conjunction with coats and skirts. Included in the 1906 return were 35,624 workpeople, of whom 31 per cent. were employed in Ireland and 23 per cent. in London. 68 per cent. of the total number were piece-workers. Their weekly receipts varied considerably between one locality and another, as is shown in the following Table of the average earnings of workpeople who worked full time in the last pay-week of September:—

District.	Men.	Lads and Boys (excluding Half-timers).	Women.	Girls (excluding Half-timers).	All Work-people (including Half-timers).
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Yorkshire (excluding Cleveland), Lancashire and Cheshire.	31 6	9 5	13 7	7 2	12 6
North and West Midland Counties.	28 9	8 10	13 5	6 5	11 10
London	34 0	10 9	15 10	7 2	15 6
Rest of England and Wales...	30 9	8 8	13 1	6 10	11 10
Scotland	30 3	9 5	13 4	6 7	12 3
Belfast... ..	26 2	6 8	12 0	6 2	11 9
Londonderry (City)	21 10	8 0	9 9	4 8	10 2
Rest of Ireland	21 9	6 2	10 3	6 9	10 0
United Kingdom	29 10	8 11	13 4	6 9	12 8

No fewer than 83·8 per cent. of the women piece-workers in Ireland earned less than 10s. in a full week.

Trade Boards for the shirt making trade had been constituted in Great Britain and in Ireland by orders of the 26th December, 1913, and the 19th March, 1914, and before the war had determined minimum rates of 6d. and 5½d. in the two countries.

The Secretary of the National Amalgamated Shirt, Collar and Jacket Makers' Society informed the Committee in a written statement that the Trade Board had not done much to affect the prices paid for shirt, collar and jacket making, particularly in the North of England, but that there was now a standard price list for the various garments arranged in conference between the employers and the Society. The agreement had provided that where an employer was paying prices in excess of those stated in the list they could not be reduced, and the employers had also agreed to remove a long standing grievance in the deduction from workers' wages of payment for sewing cotton and needles, &c. This agreement was made apart from the activities of the Trade Board.

60. Dressmaking and Millinery.—The average for *Dressmaking* and *Millinery* in the general table for 1906, given above, excludes work-people who receive board and lodging in whole or in part, and all unpaid apprentices or labourers. Inclusion of the former class would improve the average; that of the latter would lower it. In the dressmaking trade, for example, no less than 10 per cent. of the women and girls returned received no remuneration either in cash wages or in kind. The average wages of apprentices under 18 years was 5s. a week, and very often for the first one, two or even three years they worked without receiving any wages at all, or with 6d. to 2s. 6d. "pocket money."* Apprentices and learners of all ages and girls under 18, whether wage-earning or not, formed 29 per cent. of the women and girls in the dressmaking trade, 43 per cent. of the milliners, and 17 per cent. of the mantle makers. Only 1 per cent. of the women and girls in this trade were piece-workers. The dress-making trade included the most highly paid classes of women in the whole of industry in the period to which the return refers. Women fitters and cutters made average earnings of 43s. 2d. per-week in London and 33s. 5d. throughout the United Kingdom. No fewer than 26·8 per cent. of the fitters and cutters in London earned over 50s. The above figures relate only to workshop manufacture and cover 45,000 work-people. Another 8,597 workers are returned as working in the dress-making and millinery trades in factories; the average earnings of women so employed throughout the United Kingdom were 14s. 10d.

The Committee received evidence of the low rates paid to apprentices and young girls in the high class dressmaking trade of the West of England. As the particulars related to the war period, they will be referred to later on in this report.

61. Boot and Shoe.—The great development of factory manufacture in the *Boot and Shoe* Industry has taken place during the last 40 years, and since 1895 the industry has passed from a hand to a machine manufacture. As the former it was a piece-work trade. The gradual transfer to machinery displaced hundreds of men, and although all these displaced men did not come back, the industry has absorbed more men than were formerly employed. But for some years of the transition period there were men not suitable for putting on the machines who were

* "The Women's Industrial News," July, 1911.

earning on an average not more than £1 a week. The following summary gives the average earnings of workpeople who worked in the boot and shoe trade full time in the last pay-week of September, 1906:—

District.	Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work- people.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
Leicester	31 2	10 9	14 11	7 11	21 6
Leicestershire (excluding Leicester)	27 9	11 4	13 11	8 3	18 11
Northampton	29 10	11 6	12 5	6 3	19 8
Kettering	29 6	12 3	13 3	6 11	20 10
Northamptonshire (excluding Northampton and Kettering).	27 1	10 4	12 4	6 9	18 11
Stafford	29 5	9 3	10 9	4 9	19 2
Norwich	25 11	9 4	10 6	4 6	17 1
Bristol	26 6	9 9	11 7	6 1	18 1
Kingswood	27 10	9 11	11 2	5 6	17 11
London	30 6	10 11	12 6	6 5	19 11
Leeds... ..	28 4	9 6	13 10	6 6	19 0
Manchester	27 8	12 6	17 6	10 5	19 6
Scotland	31 5	8 9	12 8	6 9	20 9
Rest of United Kingdom	26 6	9 6	12 4	6 5	17 6
United Kingdom	28 8	10 6	13 1	6 10	19 5

The women form 22 per cent. of the total number returned, and nearly four-fifths of them were paid time rates. More than half of the women were machinists or closers, and nearly one-third were fitters. The machinists or closers on piece-work averaged 15*s.* 7*d.* for a full week.

Mr. E. L. Poulton, who gave evidence before the Committee on behalf of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, referred to an agreement establishing in August, 1913, a minimum wage for women in the Northampton Boot and Shoe trade, which, with slight variations as to conditions, was adopted for the industry generally as from the 1st November, 1914. By this agreement operations were divided into two classes. For the first class minima were fixed of 14*s.* at 18 years, 16*s.* at 19, and 18*s.* at 20. For the second class the minima were 14*s.* at 18, 15*s.* at 19, and 17*s.* at 20. The men's minimum corresponding to this 17*s.* was 32*s.* These were minimum time rates, but above this there were at Leicester, and to some extent at Bristol, graduations fixed according to "quantity statements," i.e., according to the output measured both in quantity and quality. Men and women only worked on comparable work in the closing and stock rooms, and here the earnings of women were about 17*s.*, compared with the men's minimum of 32*s.* The same wages ruled at Bristol, where there was much home work, at which a man working longer hours than in the factory could earn 35*s.* to 40*s.* or over, and a woman 15*s.* to 20*s.*

62. Lesser Clothing.—The 1906 tables for the *Lesser Clothing Industries* show a fairly good average of earnings for women in the hat trade, and a remarkably high average in the straw hat and bonnet trade. The straw hat trade, which is mainly centred in Luton, is a strictly seasonal trade, extending only from the end of January to Whitsuntide. In that period the average earnings of women working full time were 19*s.* 10*d.* a week, and of men 36*s.* 7*d.*

The fur trade also yielded good earnings to the women workers employed, viz., 17s. 9d. for machine sewers, 17s. 8d. for liners, and 16s. 3d. for hand sewers working full time.

The Committee did not receive evidence with regard to these trades.

63. Dyeing and Cleaning.—As regards *Dyeing and Cleaning* the wages in 1906 averaged 17s. 7d. per week, for all workpeople working full time—women, 13s. 10d.; men, 29s. 6d.; but the great majority of the women earned between 10s. and 20s. a week. The National Federation of Dyers and Cleaners told the Committee that before the war the average wage for girls of 18 and over in their trade was 15s. to 25s. a week. In one of the London factories male semi-skilled dyers earned 45s., male finishers from about 30s. to 32s., and female finishers about 23s. 6d. a week.

64. Laundries.—The 1906 Return covers 28,437 persons employed in power *Laundries*, of whom 69 per cent. were women, nearly half of them hand ironers. 33 per cent. of the women were piece-workers. The following table shows for the different branches of the trade the percentage number of women working full time in the last pay week of September, 1906, whose earnings fell within the limits mentioned.

Occupation.	Under 10s.	10s. and under 15s.	15s. and under 20s.	20s. and under 25s.	25s. and under 30s.	30s. and above.	Average Earnings for Full Time.
							s. d.
Washers ... Time	14·3	69·9	15·0	0·8	—	—	12 0
Calenders ... Time	42·6	53·1	4·1	0·1	0·1	—	10 2
Hand Ironers :—							
Shirt { Time	9·7	50·2	30·8	8·3	1·0	—	13 10
{ Piece	5·1	53·2	34·7	5·8	1·1	0·1	14 6
Finery { Time	9·5	56·5	31·1	2·9	—	—	13 6
{ Piece	13·6	51·9	27·3	6·4	0·6	0·2	13 10
Body linen { Time	26·6	58·1	14·9	0·4	—	—	11 6
{ Piece	25·9	56·4	15·6	2·1	—	—	12 0
Other { Time	27·7	57·8	14·0	0·5	—	—	11 6
{ Piece	21·1	52·7	22·8	3·4	—	—	12 9
Machine { Time	22·4	55·2	19·9	2·4	0·1	—	12 1
Ironers { Piece	20·1	41·1	31·2	5·8	1·3	0·5	13 9
Receivers, Markers, Sorters and Packers, Time.	17·3	48·2	27·6	6·2	0·6	0·1	13 2
All Women	20·5	52·0	21·1	4·7	1·0	0·7	12 10

It is to be observed that the hours of labour in this trade averaged 54·7, and that over one-quarter of all those returned worked 60 hours per week. The average for women and girls only was 54·3 hours, and the average in Scotland and Ireland was on the whole higher than in England and Wales by over two hours per week. The conditions were not greatly different in the hand laundries which made returns. In these washerwomen working full time averaged 12s. a week.

Mr. J. J. Stark, who represented the National Federation of Laundry Associations before the Committee, stated that there was no standard of wages before the war, since Trade Union organisation was only just beginning, and that there was great variation between one district and another. A Trade Board had been suggested in May, 1913, but the

proposal did not mature. According to the evidence of the National Laundry Workers' Union, a small union of women working at Manchester and Edinburgh, women would earn between 15s. and 20s. weekly on piece-work at ironing, on which men were also employed sometimes, and earned slightly more than the women. The witness estimated the average wage for a woman before the war at 14s. a week.

65. Food, Drink and Tobacco Trades.—The total number of workpeople included in the 1906 return under this heading was 164,345, of whom 22·6 per cent. were women and 10·3 girls under 18. Men greatly predominated in grain milling, malting and brewing, sugar refining, spirit distilling, baking, confectionery, aerated water, &c., but in cocoa, chocolate and sugar confectionery, preserved food, jam, pickle, sauce, tobacco, cigar, cigarette and snuff manufacture two-thirds or more were women and girls. In the biscuit trade the two sexes were practically equal. The following table shows the average earnings of workpeople who worked full time in an ordinary week of 1906:—

Trade.	Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work- people.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
Grain Milling	22 9	11 0	10 1	5 5	21 5
Baking and Confectionery	28 11	9 6	12 8	6 5	22 8
Malting and Brewing	26 3	10 5	9 4	7 5	24 3
Cocoa, Chocolate and Sugar Confectionery.	30 9	9 8	11 9	6 7	14 1
Preserved Food, Jam, Pickle, Sauce, &c.	28 7	10 4	10 11	6 7	15 8
Biscuit	27 5	9 10	10 10	7 1	13 4
Sugar Refining	28 3	12 3	10 6	7 7	24 11
Aerated Water, &c.	24 7	9 6	9 7	7 4	17 8
Manufacture and General Bottling, Spirit Distilling.	22 11	12 3	10 2	7 6	22 3
Other Food and Drink	26 4	11 2	11 9	7 5	18 8
Tobacco, Cigar, Cigarette and Snuff	30 6	9 9	12 0	6 2	13 10
All the above Trades	26 4	10 0	11 5	6 6	19 0

The aerated water trade and general bottling trade shows the lowest earnings of women, 54 per cent. earning less than 10s. a week. In all these trades put together 82 per cent. earned less than 15s. The tobacco trades yielded the best earnings on the average to women, namely, 12s.

Trade Boards for the Sugar Confectionery and Food Preserving Trades in Great Britain and in Ireland had been established before the war by Orders of December 23rd, 1913, and of March 21st, 1914, but the minimum rates determined by them were not then operative.

According to the evidence given to the Committee, the wages of the comparatively few women who were employed in connection with *Grain Milling* on sack-mending and cleaning and light warehouse work before the war were unregulated and bore no relation to those of men. In the North of England, where alone women were engaged in the baking of *Bread* on a small scale, they received, according to Mr. John Kirkland, who represented the National Federation of Master Bakers,

18s. to 20s., against the men's 28s. In London for cleaning up and preparing tins they got 20s. against the men's 30s. The general manager for Messrs. Huntley and Palmer stated that while the minimum wage of a man at their *Biscuit* factory was 21s., that for a woman was 13s., and that women, who constituted one-quarter of the establishment, would earn about 40 per cent. more on piece-work and altogether from three-fifths to two-thirds of a man's wage for the lesser time they worked. In Messrs. Samuel Allsopp's Brewery women were not employed on *Malting and Brewing*, but young girls who were engaged to the extent of 65 per cent. in the bottling department received 15s. or less according to age, against 25s. paid to men in the same department and against 23s. the general average wage for men in the brewery. As regards *Tobacco* the representative of Messrs. Lambert and Butler stated that before the war women would earn 15s. to 16s. weekly on making cigarettes by hand and 14s. 6d. on packing cigarettes. Tobacco packing was time-work and the average wage was 10s. a week. Women were not organised in any Trade Union at that time and wages were merely regulated by the customary rates of a district. In general, they would vary for women and girls from 5s. to 18s. according to age. The Secretary of the National Cigar Makers' Union and National Federation of Tobacco Workers, representing the skilled portion of the tobacco trade, but not the cigarette makers, stated that before the war girls and boys leaving school would get 2s. 6d. or 3s. to start with, but would go on to piece-work after six months. Before the war there was a difference of some 25 per cent. in men's and women's wages, but this difference was being done away with.

Generally, there was evidence of some improvement in the relation of women's to men's wages in the Food, Drink and Tobacco Trades between September, 1906, and July, 1914.

66. Paper and Printing Trades.—The 1906 return shows a percentage of 24·2 women and 12·8 girls in these trades. They constituted the larger proportion of workers on Bookbinding, Paper Stationery Manufacture, and especially on the manufacture of boxes from cardboard, canvas, &c. The average earnings on full time in the last pay-week of September, 1906, are shown in the following table:—

Trade.	Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work-people.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
Paper Manufacture	29 0	10 8	11 11	7 6	20 4
Printing	36 10	8 7	12 3	6 4	23 10
Bookbinding	34 1	8 8	12 10	6 0	16 4
Paper Stationery Manufacture	31 4	8 6	11 11	6 6	15 3
Cardboard, Canvas, &c., Box Manufacture.	28 10	10 3	12 3	6 1	12 5
Wallpaper, &c. Manufacture	32 11	10 2	13 2	7 9	22 3
Process Block Making	45 9	9 7	18 9	9 5	31 6
All the above Trades	34 4	8 11	12 2	6 4	20 0

The following detailed statement of the range of women's earnings show that there was little to choose between the earnings of women in

Cardboard Box Manufacture and those of women in the other Paper Trades.

Trade.	Under 10s.	10s. and under 15s.	15s. and under 20s.	20s. and under 25s.	25s. and above.	Average earnings for full time.
						s. d.
Paper Manufacture	25·9	55·8	15·8	2·4	0·1	11 11
Printing	28·0	49·2	15·7	4·9	2·2	12 3
Bookbinding	19·3	55·4	19·5	3·9	1·9	12 10
Paper Stationery Manufacture	30·4	49·5	15·8	3·4	0·9	11 11
Cardboard, Canvas, &c., Box Manufacture.	24·7	55·1	16·1	3·5	0·6	12 3
All Paper, Printing, &c. Trades	26·5	52·2	16·5	3·7	1·1	12 2

But on April 27th, 1910, not long after the publication of the 1906 return, a Trade Board was established in Great Britain for the making of boxes and parts thereof wholly or partially of paper, cardboard, chip, or similar material. A similar Board was constituted for Ireland on August 23rd, 1910, and before the war these Boards had established minimum time-rates for adult men and women of 6*d.* and 3*d.* in Great Britain and 6*d.* and 2½*d.* in Ireland.

According to evidence put before the Committee in the form of written statements, the wages received by women in the machine department of printing establishments at Leeds before the war for feeding sheets ranged from 10*s.* to 22*s.* 6*d.* on time rates. In the processes of binding on which they were employed they received 17*s.* 6*d.* to 22*s.* 6*d.*, according to age and skill. In Manchester, the minimum weekly wage both in the printing and binding departments for the first year was 9*s.*, for the second 12*s.*, thereafter increasing by 4*s.* a year until 28*s.* was reached after five years' apprenticeship. The men's minimum wage in these departments was 70*s.* In Manchester the women printers and bookbinders were organised in their own women's Union. In Scotland the journeymen's weekly wage in the printing and kindred trades was about 32*s.* 6*d.* before the war, and the journeywoman's about 18*s.* There were no generally agreed scales as to apprentices of either sex, but the average wage during apprenticeship of boys was estimated at 10*s.*, and of girls at 7*s.* 6*d.* In London, according to the Bookbinding section of the London Chamber of Commerce, the woman's minimum was 16*s.* and the man's 35*s.*, young persons under 18 averaging from 10*s.* to 12*s.* The National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants confined themselves to the statement that wages varied enormously, which seems to be justified by the figures given above. These show, however, a marked advance on the figures of 1906, no doubt in part due to the activities of the Society quoted who are mainly concerned with the question of women on men's work.

67. Wood Trades.—The return of 1906 covering 781 women and 338 girls employed in the saw milling and machinery trades, and 1,888 women and 649 girls in the cabinet making trades, mainly as sewers, upholstresses and french polishers, gives the following average weekly earnings for those working full time:—

Trade.	Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work-people.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Saw Milling, &c.	27 4	9 8	12 5	8 4	22 4
Cabinet Making, &c.	33 0	8 7	13 1	6 2	24 5

The majority of these women and girls were paid on time, but there was a proportion of piece-workers in packing-case making and upholstery.

The Committee on Women in Industry did not hear evidence from representatives of the wood trades, but as regards the *Furnishing* trade, which is the most important of them, have the advantage of the enquiry conducted on behalf of the Women's Industrial Council into the conditions which existed in the first six months of 1914,* from which the following would appear to be usual wages at that time paid to upholstresses.

	West End.				East End.			
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
First year	4	0	to	5	0	2	6	to 4 0
Second year... ..	5	6	"	6	0	5	0	" 6 0
Third year	10	0	"	12	0	8	0	" 10 0
Fully qualified	16	0	"	18	0	12	0	" 16 0
Highly skilled	18	0	"	20	0	16	0	" 18 0
Forewomen... ..	20	0	"	30	0	20	0	" 22 0

Work was on a time basis; 3*d.* an hour for overtime for a girl on a 14*s.* rate in the East End, and 4*d.* to 6*d.* for West End upholstresses are mentioned. A good man cutter would get 1*s.* an hour wages—very much more than a forewoman.

In *Carpet sewing*, women were paid 1*d.* to 1½*d.* a yard.

In *French Polishing* women were paid from 2*d.* to 5*d.* an hour, or from 7*s.* to 18*s.* a week, according to experience. A forewoman is quoted as receiving from 24*s.* to 26*s.* a week. "West End firms employ men to do French Polishing, and pay them 9½*d.* an hour. The United French Polishers' Society do not admit women members, since they maintain that the work is too heavy for them, and that it would only tend to bring wages down." The London and North Western Railway Company employed women on french polishing in carriage works before the war in the proportion of 2 women to 1 man, and paid them at an average wage rate of 18*s.* a week compared to the man's average of 40*s.* 6*d.*

In *Brush Making*, now included by the Board of Trade under Wood Trades, women in 1906 had the low average earnings of 10*s.* 6*d.* a week.

68. China and Earthenware Trades.—The return of 1906 gives the average earnings of workpeople who worked full time in an ordinary week of 1906 in the Porcelain, China and Earthenware Trade as follows:—

Trade.	Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work-people.
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
Porcelain, China and Earthen-ware.	32 4	11 2	11 11	6 2	19 8
Glass Bottle	38 4	12 1	8 9	7 1	26 6
Brick, Tile, Pipe, &c....	26 7	11 6	11 5	9 4	23 3

In the Porcelain, China and Earthenware Trade 29 per cent. of the women working full time earned under 10*s.*, and 50 per cent. between 10*s.* and 15*s.*, but in the Glass Bottle Trade no fewer than 84·5 per cent.

* "The Women's Industrial News," October, 1915.

earned under 10s., which makes this trade conspicuous for low wages to women. In the Glass Bottle Trade the system of payment is commonly a form of piece-work in which the fixed weekly time rates are supplemented by "overwork" earnings, *i.e.*, payment of piece rates for articles made within the ordinary hours in excess of specified standard output or "stint."

The China and Earthenware Trade was represented before the Committee by the Amalgamated Society of Male and Female Pottery Workers, the Staffordshire Potteries Association, and the English China Manufacturers' Association. The operatives gave a number of figures to indicate the earnings of women and girls on different classes of work before the war. It is difficult to generalise from them, but earnings would seem to have ranged from 2s. a week, which might be the starting wage of a girl transferrer, 13 or 14 years of age, to nearly £2, which might be earned by a jigger woman or caster. The average wages earned by young girls seem to have been very low, while those for adult women—in this trade women over 21—were higher than in 1906, an improvement which the operatives suggested was connected with their having been organised for the last eight years. Where women and girls did the same processes as men before the war they received, as a rule, a lower piece rate; in some factories, according to the workers, women were paid two-thirds and girls only one-third of the man's rate. The employers' representatives stated that where a lower piece rate was paid, as to handlers and placers (57½ per cent. less than men's rates) and pressers (25 per cent. to 45 per cent. less), the work was either much lighter or of a different class. They estimated a woman's earnings on piece-work at from 15s. to 22s. Piece rates are general in the trade, except in the warehouse, where women were paid 12s. a week, and for scouring, for which the weekly wage was 14s. Piece rates were not based on any time rate.

69. Leather Trades.—The average earnings of workpeople who worked full time in an ordinary week of 1906 were as follows:—

Trade.	Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work-people.
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
Leather, Tanning and Dressing, Fellmongering, &c.	28 11	11 0	12 11	9 2	26 1
Saddlery, Harness and Whip Manufacture.	29 5	7 5	10 7	5 5	20 1
Portmanteau, Bag, Purse and Miscellaneous Leather Manufacture.	30 1	10 5	12 8	6 6	18 1

In Saddlery, Harness and Whip manufacture 37·5 per cent. of the women earned less than 10s., and 93·2 per cent. less than 15s. In the better paid portmanteau, bag, purse, &c., manufacture, in which 44 per cent. of the workpeople were women and girls only 20·3 per cent. of these earned less than 10s., while 23·4 per cent. earned 15s. or more.

The very few women employed before the war in the light section of the Leather Tanning and Dressing trade were paid, according to evidence given to the Committee by the employers' representatives, 4d. an hour against 8d. for men. The actual earnings of women over 18 years of age from January to June, 1914, were—piece-workers, 12s. 8d.

a week, and day workers 14s. 9d. The National Leather Trades Federation representing the operatives, stated that girls started generally at about 10s. and rose to 14s. or 16s. at the outside. They estimated wages in the Lighter Section of the Chrome Tanning rather higher than this at 16s. to 18s., against 22s. to 25s. given to lads and young men, and 35s. a man's average earnings on piece-work. In Manufacturing the women employed on the light goods and bags and purses received about half the wages paid to men making the heavier articles.

70. Gas, Water, Electricity and Transport.—There is no comparison of wages before the war to be made as regards *Gas, Water and Electricity* undertakings, and in the matter of *Transport* services it is only necessary to mention that in the few cases in which women carriage cleaners were employed, they received wages of 14s. to 18s., against 20s. to 24s. paid to men for a slightly longer day's work, and that on the Great Western Railway, a maximum of 10s. 6d. was paid to gate-women compared with 25s. to gate-men.

71. Agriculture.—In *Agriculture* in England the tendency seems to have been where women were largely employed on field work for them to do the lighter operations, such as docking, thistle spudding, potato setting and lifting, &c., at piece-work rates so that the comparative time-rates of men and women mean little. In Lancashire, where men received up to 25s. a week, women might get as much as 20s., while in Wiltshire and Berkshire, 9s. to 12s. for women would correspond to 12s. to 15s. for ordinary male labourers. In the Eastern Counties at haymaking, men in 1914 would receive 3s. to 3s. 6d. per day of 10 hours; and women 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per day of eight hours, but the work would be different, the men doing the heavier (*e.g.*, pitching), and the women the lighter (*e.g.*, raking). In hoeing thistles, a woman would make 1s. 6d. a day against 2s. 6d. to 3s. which would be made by a man working longer and quicker on this—mainly a woman's—job. In Scotland, women workers were usually paid 8s. and 10s., sometimes 11s. a week with extra money at harvest, and sometimes at potato lifting. Men's wages would be double this.

72. Hotels, Public Houses, &c.—The principal classes of employment to be considered in connection with *Hotels, Public Houses, &c.*, are barmen and barmaids, waiters and waitresses, and male and female cooks. The Committee have no information with regard to wages of barmen whose work, for reasons already given in Chapter I., is not as a rule comparable to that of barmaids. The ordinary weekly wages before the war for barmaids living in were:—

	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
In the railway refreshment room	8 0	to 10 0
In the all-round bar of a working class public house	10 0	„ 12 0
In the saloon bar or lounge or in the hotel ...	12 0	„ 14 0
Head barmaid with large staff under her ...	17 6	„ 20 0
Manageress	20 0	„ 30 0
For barmaids living out the weekly wages were:—		
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
In the railway refreshment room	12 0	„ 15 0
In the restaurant bar and music hall	12 0	„ 15 0
Head barmaid in theatres or music halls ...	18 0	„ 20 0
In the restaurant bar	17 6	„ 20 0
	and meals.	
In a city luncheon or sandwich bar, including tips and meals	18 0	„ 25 0

These figures taken from Mrs. Bernard Drake's investigation in April, 1914, to which reference has already been made, are rather higher than those given by a witness before the Committee, but can be relied on. In the Report by the same investigator, it was stated that "the barmaid who lives in has a wage about the same as that of a waitress who lives out, and whose expense of lodging and fares, unless she is able to live at home, are not often less than 8*s.* a week. The lowest wage is that in the railway refreshment bar, in which case the barmaid is most approximate to the waitress. The waitress has, however, regular employment and comparative security of tenure."

The weekly wages earned by women workers in the light refreshment depots of an important catering firm before the war were as follows:—

Waitress	...	...	...	...	...	<i>s. d.</i> 7 6 and commission.
						<i>s. d.</i> <i>s. d.</i>
Counter hand	...	...	...	...	...	13 6 to 15 6
Cashier	...	...	...	...	...	14 6 „ 16 6
Kitchen cleaning and preparing	...	...	...	...	...	12 6 „ 14 6
Silver and knife girl	...	...	...	...	...	10 6 „ 11 6
Seater	...	...	...	...	...	17 6 „ 23 0
Manageress	...	...	...	...	...	22 6 „ 30 0
Superintendent	...	...	...	...	...	32 6 „ 50 0

From the 7*s.* 6*d.* to waitresses "a deduction is made of 1*s.* 6*d.* for the mid-day meal, leaving a net figure of 6*s.* To this again is added a 2½ per cent., or 6*d.* in the £1 commission on bills; an amount which varies with the activity of the depot no less than with the waitress's own standing in the shop. A smart waitress in a central metropolitan depot takes in this way anything from 4*s.* to 5*s.* in a slack August week, to 10*s.*, 12*s.*, or more, in the busy season; and her total earnings for the week may easily average 15*s.* net and over. But hers is an advantageous position. In other depots of the same firm in less busy districts, the earnings of a competent waitress, after the 1*s.* 6*d.* deduction for food, may not be more than 12*s.* or even 11*s.*; the fixed wage in each case being the same. No gratuities are allowed by this firm. A depot box is kept instead, from which the waitress may, or may not, receive an extra few pence a week."

There are various systems of payment with different percentage commissions and with or without permission to take tips. Generally "£1 a week or a little over is a maximum figure for a teashop waitress. An average of 15*s.* net is a first class wage. A more common sum, after the usual 1*s.* 6*d.* deduction for the mid-day meal, is 12*s.*; and many adult waitresses earn less."

One witness before the Committee stated that at a large café in the Continental style where, before the war, the hours were so arranged that the women worked during the day and the men for a few hours each night, the men were paid on commission, which came to 10*s.* to 12*s.* a week, the women on commission and wages amounting to from 18*s.* 6*d.* to £1 a week. The witness added that a man gets more tips than a woman. According to another witness a waiter in a restaurant in pre-war days would earn with tips up to £3 a week.

Fifteen shillings and food was a common figure for a skilled woman cook, and in many cases she earned a good deal more. They did not, however, get more than half the wages paid to men.

73. Domestic Service.—According to a Report of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade on the Money Wages of Indoor Domestic

*Servants** based on information collected between 1894 and 1898 the average of these wages for females, exclusive of gifts and allowances, was £17 16s. in London, £15 10s. in the rest of England and Wales and £17 12s. in the three principal Scottish towns. The average wage increased from £7 18s. for girls below 16 years of age to £27 16s. for women of 40 years and over in London, the figures being £7 2s. and £24 14s. for the rest of England and Wales, £7 12s. and £23 10s. for Scotland and £8 and £18 for Ireland. In London the average for a between maid (19 years) was £12 8s., for a general (21 to 25) £14 18s., nurse, parlourmaid or cook (25 to 30) £21 to £22, lady's maid (30 to 35) £28 2s., cook housekeeper (40 and upwards) £41 12s. The average footman's wages were £26 14s. and butler's £58 12s., while of two men-cooks it was £128.

The Report stated that "the relations between mistresses and servants are very little affected by the rate of money wages agreed upon. The active competition of employers and the free movement of domestic servants secures for the latter the full market rate for their services, with little bargaining on either side. The quality of the food and lodging provided, the amount of work to be done, the household organisation, and the efficiency and personal characteristics of both mistress and servant are the important factors in determining the advantages and disadvantages of a situation."

There does not seem to have been any appreciable advance in the wages of young servants in the period of nearly 20 years between the Board of Trade's investigation and the outbreak of war, but there had been some rise in those of upper servants, the demand for whose services was tending to exceed the supply.

According to the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, £6 10s. per annum with full keep was regarded as a minimum wage for young girls starting work at 14, £10 at 16, and the maximum wage for a girl aged about 20 was £22 per annum. Dealing with older servants, the Girls' Friendly Society estimated the average for between maids at £10 to £14, general servants £18 to £20, cooks general £18 to £29, parlour maids £22 to £29, and cooks with help £24 to £42. Board wages, if paid, were normally 10s. a week.

One result of a very careful enquiry made by the Women's Industrial Council in 1916 into the conditions of domestic service† was to show that there was little complaint as to the money wages, the growing unpopularity of domestic service among women being due to other causes.

74. Commercial Occupations.—In *Commercial Occupations* the wages of shop assistants formed the subject of an enquiry by the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks in 1908-9.‡ The Union's report on the result of this enquiry stated that it disclosed the fact that 32½ per cent. of men and 59 per cent. of women between the ages of 21 and 22 received less than 23s. per week (in cash and in kind), while 48½ per cent. of men and 73 per cent. of women received less than 25s. per week. An Annual Delegate Meeting of the Union in 1910 decided to adopt a list for their branches to work for throughout the country. The list provided for increments at the ages of 21, 23, 25 and 28, it being assumed that experience was accumulated and additional value acquired up to the latter age. The scale provided for an addition of 5s. to each rate in the case of persons employed in

* Cd. 9346.

† "Domestic Service." Report by C. V. Butler of an Enquiry by the Women's Industrial Council, 1916.

‡ "The Case for Minimum Wages in the Distributive Trades." Second Edition, 1913.

London, and for the Provinces proposed minima varying for the assistants according to the trades, but generally as follows:—

Occupation.	At 21 years.		At 28 years.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
Managers, Buyers, and Shop Walkers.	35s.	35s.	41s.	41s.
Assistants... ..	24s. to 30s.	18s. to 26s.	30s. to 36s.	24s. to 28s. 6d.

It will be seen that the proposed minimum rate for women was three-quarters that of the rate for men. This proposal recognised that in point of fact women were often earning less than half the men's rate; that in the past they had not been quite as efficient as men; and that a proposal for a higher proportion would have met with a much stronger resistance. Boys from 16 to 20 were to have a range of 10s. to 21s., and girls from 9s. to 17s. This standard it had not, as a rule, been found possible to enforce. The Amalgamated Union of Co-operative and Commercial Employees and Allied Workers appear to have met with more success. According to their evidence, enquiries undertaken by them in 1910 showed that the wages of women shop assistants in general ranged from 4s. or 6s. to 15s. They stated, however, that since 1908 the wages of males and females employed by organised Co-operative Stores had fairly generally conformed to a minimum scale passed by the Co-operative Congress and Women's Co-operative Guild. This "Congress scale" was as follows:—

—	Age 14 years.	Age 15 years.	Age 16 years.	Age 17 years.	Age 18 years.	Age 19 years.	Age 20 years.	Age 21 years.
Boy's Minimum Rate... ..	s. 6	s. 8	s. 10	s. 12	s. 15	s. 18	s. 21	s. 24
Girl's Minimum Rate... ..	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	—

It was stated that although these were minima, in actual practice the wage for all adult women not engaged as manageresses (whose minimum was 21s.) became standardised at 17s. In good London establishments the rates before the war had evidently been much higher. According to an employer in a large London store where men and women were both employed in the drapery department, the men received from 32s. to 35s. a week and made a commission of from 12s. to 15s., and the women were paid 25s. a week and made a commission of 7s. to 8s., the excess of the man's commission over the woman's being due to his greater interest in, and knowledge of, his trade.

75. Clerical Work.—For *Clerical Work* in shops the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks had claimed in 1910 wages of 35s. to 41s. a week, according to age (21 to 28), for men book-keepers in the provinces and 26s. to 32s. for women book-keepers, with an additional 5s. for those employed in London. Other clerks were to get from 7s. to 10s. a week less, according to the duties on which they were engaged. But, as in the case of the shop assistants, these rates were not very generally enforced. According to the National

Union of Clerks, the average wage before the war was 30s. for men and 20s. for women. The General Manager of Messrs. Harrod's stated that the firm paid 45s. or 50s. to ledger clerks, whether men or women; this equality did not apparently extend to the clerks with less responsibility. On railways, according to the Railway Executive Committee's witness, before the war payment to women clerks was 10s. to 35s. a week in the offices of the Great Western Railway, and 10s. to 30s. in those of the London & North-Western Railway, against corresponding payments of £20 to £100 and £20 to £110 a year in the case of men. The Railway Clerks' Association quoted maximum wages of 20s. in the provinces and 22s. in London for women on the Great Northern Railway, against 34s. 7d. and 38s. 4d. drawn by men, and of 26s. in the provinces and 28s. in London for women on the London & South-Western Railway. The Association of Women Clerks informed the Committee that whereas male shorthand typists could get 60s. a week, women of equal skill and knowledge obtained 30s.

76. National Government.—In the *Civil Service* of the National Government before the war, women medical officers under the Board of Education and the National Health Insurance Commission (England) received the same salaries as the men of corresponding grades in those departments. Women inspectors generally earned from £200 to £400 per annum, though a few higher posts carried salaries of £600 or £700. These rates were generally about three-quarters of those of the men doing similar work. Some junior posts under the National Health Insurance Commissions carried salaries of £80 to £150 per annum for both men and women.

Warders, matrons, etc., employed in connection with prisons and similar institutions earned from 29s. to 72s. 6d. weekly, according to rank and responsibility. The rates for male warders, etc., were from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. higher.

A definite scale for women clerks was laid down by the Treasury, and the following table shows the difference between the rates of pay granted to them and to the male Second Division Clerks and Assistant Clerks:—

Rank.	Scale.	Years to reach maximum
Second Division Clerks	£70—£7 10s.—£130	8
	£130—£10—£200	7
	If certified efficient, £200—£10—£300	10
Assistant Clerks ...	£45—£5—£85	8
	If certified efficient, £85—£7 10s.—£150	8
	If promoted Supervising Assistant Clerks, £160—£10—£220.	6
Women Clerks... ..	Class I., £65—£5—£110... ..	9
" "	Class II., £115—£5—£146	5
" "	Principal Clerks, £150—£10—£200	5

The scale for typists was as follows:—

	Weekly.
Chief Superintendent of Female Typists ...	40s.
Superintendent of Female Typists... ..	35s.
Female Shorthand Writer Typists	26s.—31s.
Female Typists	20s.—26s.

A few male shorthand typists were employed, and they earned about £3 weekly.

In the *Post Office*, apart from the rates for clerks and typists already mentioned, women counter clerks in London received from 16s. to 40s. weekly. Female telegraphists were on age scales, and received 18s. weekly at 18, 24s. at 21, rising by increments to a maximum of 40s. The corresponding scale for male telegraphists was 20s. at 18, 26s. at 21, rising by increments to a maximum of 65s. In the provinces there were five different classes of offices, the classification being according to size of office and cost of living; the wages of sorting clerks and telegraphists in these classes were as follows:—

Class.	Men.		Women.	
	At 18.	Maximum.	At 18.	Maximum.
I.	s. d. 18 0	s. d. 56 0	s. d. 15 0	s. d. 36 0
II.	17 0	52 0	14 0	34 0
III.	17 0	48 0	14 0	32 0
IV.	17 0	44 0	14 0	30 0
V.	16 0	40 0	14 0	28 0

Telephonists in London started at 11s. weekly and rose to 28s., and in the Provinces had a commencing wage of 10s. a week and maxima varying from 26s. in Class I offices to 22s. in Class V. Telephonists could look forward before the war to early promotion to second class supervisorships at commencing salaries of £60 to £70 in the provinces and £80 in London. The only male telephonists were those taken on for night-work at large offices.

The female supervising staff, both in London and in the provinces received lower salaries than the men with corresponding duties, in about the same proportion as did the women supervised.

77. Local Government.—The only evidence received by the Committee with regard to payments to women and men employed by *Local Government* authorities was from the Clerk to the London County Council, who stated that their women inspectors under the Shops Act and Children's Act and their women inspectors of employment bureaux and of massage establishments received annual salaries of £120 to £150 and £150 to £200, against salaries of men correspondingly employed of £150 to £200 and £200 to £250. Lady assistant inspectors in the Education Department were on the same scale as men, viz., £250 to £400, and women assistant medical officers were also paid the same as men assistants.

78. Teaching Profession.—The salaries of *Teachers* were determined by the local authorities. By means of the Supplementary Grant the Board of Education brought some pressure to bear on those authorities that were backward in putting these salaries on a satisfactory basis.

The following table, giving the average salaries for men and women teachers in Elementary Schools in 1905 and 1913-14, shows a slight improvement in the woman's salary compared with the man's:—

Grade.	1904-5.			1913-14.		
	Avg. salaries, £ pr. a.		Women's salary as percentage of men's.	Avg. salaries, £ pr. a.		Women's salary as percentage of men's.
	Men	Women.		Men.	Women.	
Head Teachers ...	160·5	109·7	68·3	176·6	126·3	71·5
Certificated Assistant Teachers.	114·5	83·6	73·0	129·3	95·7	74·0

The rates of salaries varied considerably throughout the country, and in England and Wales for the years 1913-1915 the averages were as follows:—

Area.	Head Teachers.		Certificated Assistant Teachers.		Uncertificated Assistant Teachers.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Counties, excluding London.	147·2	103·2	103·9	83·1	65·9	56·2
London	290·0	209·3	160·6	118·7	89·9	62·9
Boroughs	202·4	128·7	118·3	91·1	70·9	58·4
Urban Districts...	233·9	155·4	139·4	104·6	74·7	61·4
County Boroughs ...	228·4	140·4	128·1	91·7	70·3	56·2
Average for England ...	179·5	126·8	130·2	96·0	69·5	57·1
Average for Wales ...	150·9	119·3	118·0	90·9	62·3	54·5

In Special Schools (for the blind, deaf, &c.) assistant teachers received normally the same salaries as in Elementary Schools, sometimes with an addition of £5 or £10. There was no regular practice governing the salaries of the few head teachers appointed to such schools.

As regards Secondary Schools the average salaries on January 31st, 1914, were as follows:—

	Men.	Women.
Head Teachers	£450	£324.
Full-time Assistants	£174	£126.

An examination of the distribution and average salaries of all Assistant Masters and Mistresses in eleven age groups on January 31st, 1913, shows that whereas the average male teacher's salary rises throughout life (£67 to £235) the average woman's salary which rises up to the age of 35 (£59 to £132) is practically stationary from 35 to 50 (£139 to £140) and from then onwards drops to £130 at 60.

79. General Relation between Wages in Industry proper.
—The general results of the 1906 enquiry showed that the average earn-

ings of operatives working full time in an ordinary week in the four main divisions of industry proper were as follows:—

Industries.					Men.	Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.	All Work- people.
					<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
Textiles	...	...	...	...	28 1	10 5	15 5	8 11	17 6
Clothing	...	...	...	...	30 2	9 8	13 6	5 9	15 1
Metals	...	...	...	...	33 11	10 4	12 8	7 4	27 4
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	28 6	10 3	11 7	6 6	21 7

The highest averages for women workers are to be found in cotton (18*s.* 8*d.*) and in the more skilled Clothing Trades, but as regards some of the latter, *e.g.*, the straw hat and bonnet trade (19*s.* 10*d.*), the figures have to be accepted with caution as being the exceptional earnings at the height of the season. Generally speaking, the Textile Trades stand out favourably from the others though they also include in the hair trade the lowest earnings (9*s.* 4*d.*) while among the Metal Trades, the average is brought down by chains, anchors, locks, latches and keys, which produce the low weekly figure of 9*s.* 6*d.* A better indication of a really low paid industry is to be found, however, by noting the percentages of women who earn on an average less than 15*s.* Trades conspicuous in this respect, according to the 1906 Return, were linen and hair in the Textiles and light iron castings in the Metals in which more than 90 per cent. of the women workers earned under 15*s.* a week. Trades in which more than 75 per cent. of the women workers came into this category were the various lesser metal industries; silk, hemp, miscellaneous textiles and dyeing; and in the clothing trades, gloves, corsets (in the factory), and laundry (in the workshop). From this standpoint, the cotton trade alone among regular industries yielded 15*s.* a week at an average to more than three-quarters of the women employed. The cotton trade is also conspicuous for yielding the closest approximation between the earnings of women and men. As a rough generalisation it would be true to say that the higher earnings of women as well as the closer approximation to the earnings of men were found in those trades which were paid on piece and in which the work done by men and women was most similar, while the low rates and the greater disparity occurred in the male occupations in which women provided only subsidiary and subordinate services, being classed in fact with boys and lads. Women get low wages when working at the bottom of industries that are mainly male, and men get high wages when working at the top of industries that are mainly female. Taking all classes together, the 1906 figures given above show the average earnings of women to have varied from a little over half those of men in the Textile Industries, where their work was most akin, to three-eighths in the Metal Industries, where it was probably most differentiated.

The figures from the same return indicate that the wages of girls approximated far more closely to those of boys and lads than did the wages of women to those of men. The comparison is between males under 20 and females under 18 and shows that in the Metal and Textile Trades the girl's earnings were roughly five-sixths of those of the lad or boy and in the Clothing and Miscellaneous Trades about three-fifths. Probably the lower proportion in the Clothing Trades was due to the number of wageless or nearly wageless girl apprentices, while the

relatively high proportion all round, having regard to the age difference, is connected with the more general apprenticeship of boys at wages which take into account the value to them of the skill they acquire. In the Metal Trades, cycle making yielded the highest earnings to girls in 1906 as well as immediately before the war (9s. 6d. a week), and in this and other metal trades involving small repetition work the output of girls over 16 was probably little, if any, less than that of women. Generally in the Metal Trades they received, according to the 1906 figures, about three-fifths the women's wages; in the Textile Trades somewhat over half, and in the Clothing Trades about two-fifths. The more exclusively a trade required a woman's special skill, the greater appears to have been the tendency to differentiate between women's and girls' wages.

The Labour Year Book of 1916 published an unofficial estimate of the earnings of the employed and manual working wage earners in the United Kingdom in the year 1912. It gives the average earnings for adult employed manual working women, working throughout the year, as 10s. 10½d. per week, as against 25s. 9d. for men, and the average earnings of women in situations as 12s. 4d. It would seem from the Committee's enquiries that the average wages of women in 1914 should be placed a little higher than these. They can, however, scarcely have exceeded 13s. 6d. 3d. an hour may be called a normal time rate for female labour, 5d. for unskilled male labour, and 6½d. or 7d. for all male labour.

One striking feature of the 1906 Return is the comparatively small range of average wages for women and the persistence in this connection of a figure in the neighbourhood of 12s. in the most widely different trades and industries. That the figure is more than a coincidence would appear probable from the fact that a similar level of wages prevailed in the years immediately preceding the war all over Western Europe. In *France* in 1913, according to the "Bulletin de la Statistique Générale de la France," of July, 1917, the following rates prevailed for women in industry:—

	s.	d.
Metal	11	3
Textiles (unskilled)	12	0
Spinners	14	0
Weavers	15	0
Food	10	3
Paper and Chemicals	10	3
Woodwork	13	3
Leather	13	0
Other Trades	11	3

with a general average of 11s. 6d. for what are called unskilled workers, and 14s. 6d. for skilled workers. For *Germany* in 1914 the American "Monthly Labour Review" has compiled the following figures of the average weekly wages of women:—

	s.	d.
Machinery	13	6
Iron and Metal	12	3
Electrical	16	3
Chemical	14	0
Food	12	6
Paper	12	9
Woodworking	11	9
Leather and Rubber	16	9

For *Norway* in 1910 the same authority gives the figure of 13s. 6d. as the average weekly wage for female labour, while 22s. 0d. was the average weekly wage for male labour. In the *United States* the whole level of money wages is rather more than double the ordinary European standard. The exact figures for comparison are wanting, but a wages and hours enquiry into the industrial conditions in the State of Indiana in 1914 gives an average of 30s. 3d. as the weekly wage for adult women in industry.

80. General Relation between Wages in other Occupations.—Passing outside industry proper, it can be stated generally that in domestic service, where there was considerable difference in the nature of employment, though possibly less on the whole than in the various industrial trades, the real wages of women were higher and probably the inequality between those of women and men somewhat less, though the women's money wages at like age and after like service would still be about half the men's. In the distributive trades, where there is greater similarity of work, the tendency has been towards less inequality of payment, and some progress has been made towards women getting two-thirds, or even three-quarters, of a man's wage. This tendency becomes more marked as physical strength and specialised, as distinct from general, training affect less the services rendered. The least difference, though it is still a considerable one, is found in the earnings of educated men and women in the teaching profession, and probably, though figures are not available in proof, of those in the professional classes. The tendency is for most differentiation where there is least skill—for the minimum wage to be more affected by sex than the wage which includes a reward for higher qualifications.

Outside industry proper we have seen that the main employment of females under 18 is in domestic service, where the employment of lads and boys is comparatively small, so that comparison between wages is of no great importance. The young girls' low pay in the lower grades of this service compared to that of women is accounted for by the skill required in the upper grades of the occupation. The scale of the Co-operative Congress for commercial employees proposed five-sixths of a boy's wage to a girl of 14 and the same relation between their wages at 19. Girl and boy clerks in the Post Office received about the same payments; the differentiation begins, as a rule, after 18 years of age.

81. Causes of low Rates of Payment to Women. Women less physically strong.—The principal evidence before the Committee as to the causes of the low rates of payment to women, both absolute and in comparison with those of men, was from the societies of women. These causes were represented as mainly the artificial restrictions on training and employment, and as easily remediable. But a state of affairs that has come down through the ages and is nearly universal must have some origin in nature, however much the effect may have been accentuated by the action of man. This origin, in the opinion of the Committee, is correctly set forth by Dr. Janet Campbell, as follows, in the first of the general conclusions emerging from her enquiry:—

“The average woman is physically weaker than the average man, she cannot compete with him satisfactorily in operations requiring considerable physical strength; while competition in operations of a less arduous but still exacting character may be detrimental to her

health in that her power of endurance and her reserve energy are usually less than the man's, while she is often obliged to spend time and strength on domestic tasks which do not fall to his lot.

"The second fundamental physiological difference between the man and woman is the fact of her potential or actual motherhood. This necessarily governs to some extent her industrial power, efficiency and value. It wholly prevents absolutely equal competition in industry, and though undue weight should not be given to possible impairment of the maternal function which may arise from circumstances connected with the nature of the employment, it cannot be disregarded if women are to be employed under the conditions most appropriate to them, not only as individuals, but also with a view to the well-being of the race as a whole."

The first of the physiological differences here noted has had its effect in the exclusion of women from the industries requiring great physical strength, and hence in the restriction of their field of employment. It must also have decreased the value of women's services in operations possible to women, but less within a woman's power than within a man's power. So far as it is possible to increase by upbringing the strength of women or to decrease by invention the need for strength in any occupation, women's disability for that occupation will be removed. The second fundamental physiological difference between the man and woman is less remediable. It must always involve some dependence of women on men's support in connection with her essential service to the race, which for the time being incapacitates her from providing for her own maintenance. Anticipation of being maintained, at any rate during part of her life, in connection with this service contributes to some of those causes which are really secondary, but have been put forward to the Committee as the main removable reasons for the lower remuneration of women. Such are the conventional views of women's work as incidental and its consequent low valuation and instability and the lack of desire and opportunity to prepare for it, with consequent defective training and organisation.

82. Women less appreciated.—According to the Women's Service Bureau a chief cause for women being paid at lower rates than men was the conventional view "that women ought not to work" and that a woman's work is incidental and temporary and not to be treated seriously even by herself. This opinion is supported by the fact already noted that no fewer than 10 per cent. of women and girls worked in the dressmaking and millinery trades for no wages at all. Witnesses pointed out to the Committee that even the wage-earning women in industry ask and expect very little for themselves. While their needs of subsistence may be physiologically rather lower than those of men, their actual demands in the way of food and drink are very much less. Welfare workers have told the Committee that though women are, as a rule, more sensitive than men to their environment in factory life, they are, as a rule, less concerned about their wages. An experienced trade unionist stated that one reason against paying equal time rates to women was the fact that women themselves did not expect it. It is certainly the case that in the past there had always and everywhere been a tendency on the part of men to rate lowly the services of women, and that, as we shall see presently, the necessity which brought them into factories and all kinds of work during the war has opened the eyes of many employers to hitherto unrealised sources of industrial strength.

83. Women less stable.—But it is not mere prejudice that has caused women's labour to be lowly valued. It is stated, probably with truth, that there is often this difference between the boy and girl entering the factory, that the boy is more eager to make himself master of his job, to find out how and why things are done, partly, perhaps, from a psychological difference, but mainly because the boy is entering on his life's career and the girl is not, or does not expect to be. The "mean-time" character of the girl's work was emphasised by many of the witnesses before the Committee. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies recognised that the woman's expectation of marriage made her a less valuable worker in many occupations by making her less ambitious and enterprising, and also tended to make employers and educational authorities look upon her work as temporary. They admitted the existence of the expectation of marriage as a natural disability. Removable causes for the instability of women in industry referred to by the Women's Service Bureau were the lack of chance of promotion to higher posts and the lack of interest or responsibility in the work they are given to do. To this was added interruptions due to health breakdowns, largely entailed by women having to undertake domestic duties in addition to industrial or other work.

84. Women less trained.—Defective training arising partly from custom and partly from marriage expectation was discussed by various witnesses. Both the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Association of Headmistresses referred to the smaller food allowances for girls than for boys and to the upbringing of boys in other respects tending to fit them better for life in an arduous or skilled occupation. The direct effect of the expectation of marriage on training is possibly exaggerated. It does not prevent women from entering on what is practically a five years' apprenticeship in the textile trades, millinery and dressmaking, pottery, etc., though even in those trades women do not generally appear to attain, nor even to aim at, the highest industrial qualities. The fault lies partly in the quality of the training, which in some cases is purely illusory, and really disguises the employment of cheap labour. The evidence is to the effect that industrial training is, as a rule, due to the efforts of more experienced fellow workpeople rather than to those of the employer, and the prejudice of male workers must share the responsibility with the prejudice of the employer for the fact that the training of women is deficient. Technical dexterity is certainly attained by women to a degree not inferior to men, but what is often lacking is the sense of craftsmanship which distinguishes the first-rate fitter, joiner, cutter or chef, and marks a distinct line between skill and proficiency.

85. Women less organised.—Again the facts that girls and women have regarded their work as incidental rather than as a main purpose of their lives; that many of them have not been wholly dependent on this work; that they have been less accustomed to work together than have been boys and men in sides, teams, crews and squads; and that they have for so long worked in the main as isolated units in the home have resulted in their not attaining that power of organisation which, in the case of men, has enabled them, when settling wage questions, to meet the concentrated power of the employer on terms of increasing equality and so to get a truer interpretation of the law of supply and demand.

86. Women less in demand.—After all, it is this law that has been the chief factor in settling the lower wages of women. With physiological disabilities making natural some dependence on men and

with the disadvantages that in a measure arise from these disabilities of being less appreciated, less stable, less well-trained and less organised for many occupations than are men, they have been less in demand for those occupations. The number of industries that women may enter has been restricted and in consequence all women workers have had to crowd into a comparatively small number of occupations in which there has resulted an over-supply of female labour with a consequent detrimental effect on remuneration. The extent to which the law of supply and demand has worked and has been obstructed by various causes is set forth in the opinions of distinguished economists which have been made available to the Committee. Professor Pigou, of Cambridge University, points out that

“The relation between the normal day wages of women and of men respectively is determined by the general condition of demand and supply, and is capable of formal representation in a mathematical formula. The arrangement to which this tendency points would, if it were actually established, be more favourable to production in a broad sense than (subject to certain qualifications not relevant to the Committee’s problem) any other arrangement would be.

“The tendency of economic competition in this direction is, however, obstructed by the fact that certain occupations are practically shut to women by convention. This fact by lowering the demand for women’s labour causes the general level of women’s wages to be slightly lower than it would otherwise be; and it also damages production by interfering with the most economic use of labour power. If the conventional obstructions were removed, women’s wages would rise and production would be increased. But if, the conventional obstacles still remaining, women’s wages were forced up above the level on which economic forces, while the conventional obstacles are there, tend to place them, some women would be unable to get work; and also the inducement which employers now have to fight against, and try to break down, these conventional obstacles would be weakened. Production, therefore, would be damaged and not be benefited.

“There is reason to believe that the general tendency of competition is also obstructed by quasi-monopolistic pressure. Women’s wages in certain occupations are depressed below the level which economic competition tends to bring about, because, owing to their strategic weakness, unscrupulous or unthinking employers are able to pay them less than they are worth (in technical terms less than the value of their marginal net product). External interference to force up wages pushed down by this cause would not directly injure either employment or production. Indirectly, by increasing the women’s efficiency and by causing employers to look for their profit in good methods rather than in low wages, it would benefit both.”

Professor Cannan, of Oxford University, writing in 1913, stated as follows:—

“The true explanation of the general inferiority of women’s earnings, like every true explanation of any earnings, must combine the consideration of amount of output with the consideration of the value of a unit of output. The real reason why women’s earnings are low in occupations in which the ultimate judge, the consumer, finds their output superior to men’s, is to be found in the fact of the restricted area of employment offered by these occupations in comparison with

the number of girls choosing them, which of course brings down the value of the output. The value of work being thus depressed in these occupations, not only are men driven out or kept out of them, but many girls find they can do as well for themselves by going into occupations in which men are superior, although they have to take earnings inferior to those of the men. This, of course, throws us back on the question why the area in which women are superior is so restricted. Like women, men are only superior within a certain area, but they have no need to invade the women's field, whereas the women do need to invade theirs. The number of women is certainly appreciably greater than that of men in the "old" countries from which there is migration, but the difference in the world at large, the real market, cannot be great enough to make such difference. It seems clear that the field within which women show themselves superior to men must be smaller than that in which men show themselves superior to women.

"Believers in the generally smaller capacity of women may attribute this, in part at any rate, simply to that smaller capacity. If women are, for productive purposes as a whole, inferior editions of men, it is only natural that there should be a smaller field of occupation in which they excel, although it includes the very large occupation of motherhood. But even if this be, in part, the explanation, it certainly is not the whole explanation. The pressure of competition in the occupations in which women are superior would be less than it is if it were not for restrictions which prevent women from entering many occupations in which they could, if allowed to compete, succeed better than they do at present in occupations in which they are allowed. If these forbidden occupations, of which railway clerical work in this country is a very obvious and important example, were unlocked for women, the women who entered them would be withdrawn partly from the occupations in which women are superior, and partly from the other occupations, while, on the other hand, the men kept out of the formerly reserved occupations would, by their competition in other occupations, tend to lower men's earnings, so that men's and women's earnings would tend to be more equal.

"This enlargement of the field of women's employment is probably the most important of the means by which women's earnings could be raised in comparison with men's. It is obstructed not so much by law as by the inertia of employers and their fear of inconvenience from the active resistance of the men employed at present. It is hindered, too, by the cry for equal wages for men and women, as the most powerful lever for increasing the opportunities of women is taken away if they are not to do the work cheaper. It has been assisted by the invention of new machinery, such as the telephone and the typewriter. If such things had been invented long ago, and owing to the conditions of that time the occupations connected with them had been made men's employments, women would probably have still been shut out from them.

"Besides enlargement of the field in which women can be employed, there are two other important ways in which their earnings might be raised. Firstly, the opinion of the consumer about the comparative quality of things produced by men and things produced by women might be modified in a direction favourable to women. At present, for example, many 'consumers' of the service of waiting at table appear to regard the service as superior when performed by

a waiter, even if the waitress handles an equal number of dishes with equal dexterity and despatch. Opinions—or prejudices—such as these are clearly as capable of being changed as opinions about the beauty of tight or loose skirts, or tall hats and bowlers. A change of opinion or taste might have quite an appreciable effect in increasing the demand for women's labour and raising their earnings. Secondly, women's capacity as compared with that of men might easily be raised, with the effect of increasing their output in the occupations in which they compete with men, as measured not only by taste but by pounds avoirdupois or cubic yards. Girls as a rule do not have so much spent upon them as boys. If they were better fed and trained, their output would be bigger than it is now in occupations in which they compete with men; their average earnings in such occupations would rise more nearly to that of men, and their improved prospects here would relieve the pressure on the special fields in which women only are employed because they are superior to men. These special fields might even be somewhat increased in area, as the rise in the capacity of women might add to the list. In some occupations women may be just a little inferior to men at present, and a small rise in capacity might make them more than equal. It should be noticed, however, that an increase of women's output, if it was confined to the employments in which women alone are at present employed, might very probably reduce their earnings by cheapening the unit of output more than the amount per head increased."

87. Other causes of low Rates of Payment to Women.—The opinion of the economists suggests that to the five causes that have been given for the low level of women's wages there might be added a sixth, that wages have in the past been kept low on principle by some employers; the principle being that the spur of necessity is the chief or only incentive to work. The belief is not entirely negligible to-day; some employers still hold that women workers are more readily content with a wage which represents the needs of the moment than are men, and that women relax their efforts on piece-work as soon as they have attained their modicum. The representative of the Drugs and Fine Chemicals Association put in a chart showing a marked difference between men and women in respect to attendance after an increase of wages. Tramway companies gave similar evidence. But the Committee are not disposed to accept this as proof of a universal characteristic. Enquiries made by the Ministry of Munitions on a large scale did not produce any clear evidence that output of men or women suffered in consequence of advances in wages. Nor did they confirm the opposite theory held by some enlightened and progressive employers that higher wages of themselves necessarily improve output.

But the effect of the war on women's wages will be considered in a later chapter, as will also the various ways in which they may be prevented from reverting to their old levels. Here it may be pointed out that low wages and the various causes of them tended to act and react on one another. Low wages have greatly enhanced physical disadvantages and have been both the cause and effect of comparatively inefficient and inconstant work, insufficient training and defective organisation. The responsibility for the unsatisfactory state of the women's wages question made evident in this chapter is shared by employers, male workers and the women themselves in degrees which it is hardly necessary to estimate. The chapter may fitly conclude with a brief account of the remedies attempted to be applied in the years

before the war to a state of affairs of which the evils were being increasingly recognised.

88. Regulation of Wages by Trade Boards.—Before the war the only means for the legal regulation of women's wages was that provided by the Trade Boards Act, 1909. The Act empowered the Board of Trade to establish Trade Boards for four trades specified in the schedule, namely:—

Ready-made and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring;
Paper and Cardboard Box Making;
Machine-made Lace and Net Finishing;
Light Chain Making.

The Board of Trade were further empowered to apply the Act to any other trades in which, or in any branch of which, the rates of wages were exceptionally low, but this could only be done by means of Provisional Orders which required confirmation by Act of Parliament. Under this provision the Trade Boards Act was extended, by the Trade Boards Provisional Orders Confirmation Act, 1913, to the following trades:—

Sugar Confectionery and Food Preserving;
Shirtmaking;
Wrought Hollow-ware and Tin Box Making;
Linen and Cotton (Hand) Embroidery.

It is estimated that, after the extension of 1913, the number of workpeople within the scope of the Act was about 400,000, of whom about 80 per cent. were women. It was provided by the Act that where a Trade Board was established for any trade which was carried on to a substantial extent in Ireland, a separate Trade Board must be established for that trade in Ireland. There was also power to set up District Boards. The uniform practice, however, has been to establish National Boards for the whole of Great Britain, with separate Boards for Ireland where necessary.

Trade Boards are composed of equal numbers of representatives of employers and representatives of workers in the trade concerned, together with a small number of appointed members (usually three), who are persons unconnected with the trade and appointed by the Minister of Labour (formerly by the Board of Trade). The Chairman of a Trade Board is appointed by the Minister from among the members of the Board.

As regards the representation of employers and workpeople, the usual practice has been for the Minister to invite nominations from the employers' associations and trade unions and other sources, and then to select from among the names received the most suitable and representative candidates as members of the Trade Board. The tendency was for the employers to combine in powerful associations or federations, whose nominees could usually be accepted without question as the employers' representatives. At first the organisation of the workers in most of the trades concerned was very weak, and it was accordingly necessary to supplement the nominations received from the trade unions by enquiries conducted by the Ministry with a view to stimulating interest on the part of the workers and obtaining suitable candidates. This course was also followed in the case of some of the less highly organised sections of employers. As trade union organisation has progressed, however, the influence of the trade unions in the selection of the workers' representatives has naturally increased. A large proportion

of the representatives of workers on the existing Boards are women, and home-workers are represented in the case of trades in which a considerable proportion of such workers are engaged.

The principal function of a Trade Board is to fix minimum rates of wages. Under the Act a Trade Board was obliged to fix a minimum time rate and was also empowered to fix minimum piece rates. Moreover, a Trade Board could, if it thought fit, fix different minimum rates, whether time or piece rates, for different classes of workers and different processes. What the Boards have normally, however, done has been to fix (a) a minimum time rate for men, (b) a minimum time rate for women, (c) minimum time rates for male learners, and (d) minimum time rates for female learners.

In all cases the minimum rates for men are substantially higher than those for women. But with very few exceptions the men's and women's occupations in the trades dealt with are different, and therefore the different rates for the sexes are practically different rates for different groups of occupations. The Chain Board provided for different rates for different classes of chain, but this in effect was also a sex differentiation. Piece workers are protected by the provision that if workers are employed on piece work in any case where a minimum time rate but no minimum piece rate has been fixed, the piece rate paid by the employer must be adequate to yield, in the circumstances of the case, to an ordinary worker at least as much money as the minimum time rate. The case of infirm workers employed on time work is met by the provision that the Trade Board may, subject to such conditions as they deem necessary, grant permits to such workers, exempting their employment from the operation of the minimum time rates.

In the case of certain trades, in particular chain making and lace finishing, the minimum rates originally fixed were higher than the normal rates previously obtaining for women, and the result of the fixing of minimum rates was therefore to effect directly a general increase in women's wages in the trades in question. In other trades, *e.g.*, tailoring and shirtmaking, rates varied considerably according to the class or grade of workers and the district, and the fixing of flat minimum rates consequently had a less general effect on the wages prevailing in these trades. But the minimum rates were much higher than those paid to a large proportion of the women in the lowest wage districts. Hence, even in these trades the minimum rates meant a considerable increase in the wages of a large number of women. There is, moreover, a distinct tendency for the better paid workers to demand an increase of wages when the earnings of the lower grades have been increased as a result of the minimum rates.

Trade Boards have not attempted to lay down what they regarded as a "subsistence wage." On each Board the workers ask for what they regard as a "living" wage, but the views of workers in different trades with different standards of living differ in this respect. On the other hand, the employers tend to lay stress on this view of "what the trade will bear" and to urge that what the workers regard as a "living" wage would seriously impair the prosperity of the trade, and therefore cause unemployment. The two points of view are debated between the two sides, and the result is generally a compromise between the first demand of the workers and the first offer of the employers.

89. Regulation of Wages by Fair Wages Clause.—The only other assistance afforded by the State before the war towards the securing of a reasonable wage to women was confined to those on Government work and consisted in the clause embodied in all Government contracts

in accordance with the "Fair Wages" Resolution of the House of Commons, to the effect that the contractor should pay rates of wages not less favourable than those commonly recognised by employers and trade societies (or failing such recognised rates, those commonly paid by good employers) in the trade in the district where the work is carried out. This resolution followed on the report of 1908 of the Fair Wages Committee* which was appointed to consider the working of a resolution of the House of Commons in the matter of the 13th February, 1891. The Committee gave special consideration to the working of this resolution in the employment of women and reported as follows:—

"The resolution enjoins the payment of the current rate of wages, but we do not think that it was the intention of the resolution to enforce the payment to women of the rate 'current' for men employed on the same class of work. We are, however, conscious that the unorganised condition of women's labour does tend to depress their rate of wages, and renders it necessary for Government Departments to watch very carefully the trades in which women are engaged on contract work.

"It may be hoped that in course of time improvement will be effected in this respect: but . . . it is probable that in many employments female labour will always be found more economical than male labour. So long as the 'current rate' for both kinds of labour is paid we do not think that the Government is called on to interfere."

It seems doubtful whether effect was given to this recommendation for very careful watching of the trades in which women were engaged on contract work. The representative of the Army Contracts Department giving evidence before the Committee stated that it was the general practice of the department to rely on the workers themselves to bring to notice cases in which the terms of the "Fair Wages" Clause was being infringed, and that it would probably be safe to say that the operation of the Fair Wages Clause had been generally less effective in the case of women's wages than in that of men's wages, especially in the pre-war period, owing to the relative lack of organisation among the women workers, which had tended to make them less secure in their employment and consequently more reluctant to make complaints. Further there was difficulty in establishing what the district rate was for women and the representative of the Finance Department of the War Office agreed that before the war a wage of 7s. or 8s. a week might have satisfied the Fair Wages Clause for women on jute work at Dundee, though he added that he did not think the War Office would ever have paid so low a rate.

War Office contracts (other than for munitions) were largely for clothing, and the minimum wage determinations of Trade Boards gave greater protection than any received from the Fair Wages Clause.

90. Regulation of Wages by Trade Union Action.—Writing in 1908 Miss Mary Macarthur looked forward to the enormous impetus which legislation for the institution of a legal minimum wage by Wages Boards would give to the industrial organisation of women,† and one witness before the Committee justified this anticipation to the extent of expressing the opinion that the Tailoring Trade Board had enabled the United Garment Workers' Union to organise women in that trade. Before the outbreak

* Cd. 4422.

† "Women in Industry from Seven Points of View," 1908.

of war the effect of the State regulation of wages on the organisation of women in Trade Unions was, however, of small moment. There are some of these unions still existing that have admitted women since 1850, but such unions first became effective in the Cotton Trade 40 years ago and only during the present century have women been organised in considerable numbers in other industries. According to "The Labour Year Book" of 1916, in the ten years previous to 1914 the numbers had gone up from 113,715 in the Textile and 15,369 in all other trades to 257,281 in the former and 99,682 in the latter, or to a total of 356,963, made up as follows:—

Cotton	...	...	...	...	211,084
Other Textiles	...	...	...	...	46,197
Clothing	...	...	...	...	22,830
Shop Assistants	...	...	...	...	24,255
General Labour	...	...	...	...	23,677
Other Trades	...	...	...	...	19,295
Employees of Public Authorities	...	...	...	...	9,625
Total					356,963

This total represented between 6 per cent. and 7 per cent. of the number of women wage-earners compared with 30 per cent. in the case of men. In the pre-war period the organisation of women was being pushed on by two bodies, of which the Women's Trade Union League—not in itself a union—had for over 30 years been engaged in promoting, fostering and developing the formation of unions among women, and the National Federation of Women Workers had been formed in 1906 for the purpose of organising women in miscellaneous trades not already organised.† The latter was the only independent women's society of any importance, and had about 22,000 women enrolled in their Insurance Section in 1913. They went on the principle of handing over their members to the appropriate men's trade unions if these would open their doors to women, and the Women's Trade Union League had also of late years preferred that men and women should, wherever possible, organise together, as had been done with such success in the Lancashire Weavers' Amalgamation and Amalgamated Association of Card Room and Blowing Room Operatives, in both of which women greatly predominate, and in the rapidly growing National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks. The various general labour unions, representing for the most part unskilled labour, including the Workers' Union, the National Union of General Workers, the National Amalgamated Union of Labour, and the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union were among those who admitted women as well as men. This, however, had not been the practice in most of the skilled men's unions, and generally, though the men had mostly abandoned the old policy of excluding women, they were apt to try and organise them from their own point of view, without regard to the women's special interests.* The difficulties of the men in this relation are set forth in the following extract from the Labour Year Book of 1916:—

"The men have now come to realise that the competition of female labour is less to be feared in proportion as women are more organised, and the more progressive of the men's societies have

* "Women in Modern Industry," by B. L. Hutchins, 1915.

made strenuous efforts to organise the women in their own trades. The policy of equal pay for men and women (sometimes insisted upon by the men as a condition of membership, notwithstanding certain technical readjustments of process by which the value of the woman's labour is reduced to the employer) has, however, the practical effect of excluding women from not a few of the men's unions, the women being left to enter the trade, if not in the same in another district, under non-union conditions against their own interests as well as against those of the men. The fixing of a rate for men and women which shall be in equitable proportion to any less degree of physical endurance, skill or responsibility exacted from the woman or to any additional strain thrown on the men, and which shall neither exclude women on the one side nor blackleg men on the other, is one of the most delicate problems with which the trade unions are faced."

It is on this problem that the Committee on Women in Industry have been asked to pronounce an opinion.

CHAPTER III.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN DURING THE WAR.

91. Unemployment at beginning of the War.—The outbreak of War was followed by the partial cessation of foreign orders and by a reduction of avoidable expenditure at home, and these resulted in a period of unemployment. Owing mainly to their absorption in the Army and in Government factories and workshops, men's unemployment had largely ceased by October, 1914, and entirely before the end of the year. The contraction of the employment of women in industry went down less rapidly. It was represented by 190,000 female workers in September, 136,000 in October, 77,000 in December and 39,000 in February. In the latter half of the following month and the first half of April the number of women and girls registered at the Labour Exchanges was twice the number of vacancies notified for them. In April, however, the tide turned and instead of a contraction there was an expansion of 44,000 over the number of women employed in industry in the previous July, though absorption was not complete and there were still a number of women unemployed in the middle of 1915. Women's unemployment was most serious in the Cotton industry, which had been declining for some time before August, 1914, and suffered at once from stoppage in the import of raw material and difficulties in the export of manufactured goods as well as from contraction of demand.

"At the beginning of September, the Weavers' Amalgamation alone had 88,551 members (men and women) totally unemployed, while among cardroom operatives the percentage unemployed varied from between 20 and 50 When it is remembered that bad trade in the Textile trade is generally met by working short time, the figure of 17·7 per cent. totally out of work in the Cotton industry is nothing short of appalling."*

The situation thus described became less acute in the late winter of 1914-15, but throughout the whole of the War the cotton industry, in spite of Government contracts, gave less employment than before it, and it was

* Labour in War-Time by G. D. H. Cole, 1915.

some time before the women workers accommodated themselves to the less favourable conditions of employment in other trades. The unemployment of women in the Woollen and Men's Clothing trades was for a time considerable. Tailoresses and shirt-makers were without employment while recruits were in want of uniforms and amateurs were sewing shirts. These conditions did not, however, last long. More permanent was unemployment in the Women's Clothing trades and the luxury trades (silk, lace, &c.), and in those such as linen manufacture, fish curing and fruit preserving, where the conditions of the war made the material to be treated difficult to procure, but the women workers in these trades, as in others temporarily disorganised at the first outbreak of war, were soon to find occupation in the replacement of men.

92. Increased Employment of Women during the War.—

In the second half of 1915 unemployed women were rapidly absorbed in munition factories, and in January, 1916, in industry proper the number of women had already increased by over a quarter of a million, of whom about one-half were employed in the Metal and Chemical trades. From this time onwards the figure of female employment rose steadily until in July, 1918, the total number of occupied women had, according to Board of Trade figures, increased by 22½ per cent. or from just under 6 million to nearly 7½ million as shown in the following table:—

Numbers of Women Working.	In July, 1914.	In July, 1918.	In July, 1918, over (+) or under (—) numbers in July, 1914.
On their own account or as Employers	430,000	470,000	+ 40,000
In Industry	2,178,600	2,970,600	+ 792,000
In Domestic Service	1,658,000	1,258,000	— 400,000
In Commerce, etc.	505,500	934,500	+ 429,000
In National and Local Government, including Education	262,200	460,200	+ 198,000
In Agriculture	190,000	228,000	+ 38,000
In employment of Hotels, Public Houses, Theatres, etc.	181,000	220,000	+ 39,000
In Transport	18,200	117,200	+ 99,000
In other, including Professional employment and as home workers	542,500	652,500	+ 110,000
Altogether in occupations	5,966,000	7,311,000	+ 1,345,000
Not in occupations but over 10	12,946,000	12,496,000	— 450,000
Under 10	4,809,000	4,731,000	— 78,000
Total Females	23,721,000	24,538,000	+ 817,000

This table includes among the unoccupied those engaged in domestic work at home and other unpaid work except V.A.D. nurses, who with the various naval, military and air organised corps of women (numbering some 61,000 in September, 1918), are comprised in the total for "other, including professional employment."

It will be seen that after industry the most important increases were in commerce—mostly clerks and shop assistants; in the National and Local Government—mainly the Civil Service, which took on some 168,000 women clerks, &c.; and in transport. The additions in the different branches of industry, their effect in altering the proportion of women to

men in those branches and the extent to which females directly replaced males are shown in the following table:—

Trades.	Estimated number of Females employed in July, 1914.	Estimated number of Females employed in July, 1918.	Difference between numbers of Females employed in July, 1914, and July, 1918.	Percentage of Females to total number of Workpeople employed.		Estimated number of Females directly replacing Males in Jan., 1918.
				July, 1914.	July, 1918.	
Metal	170,000	594,000	+ 424,000	9	25	195,000
Chemical	40,000	104,000	+ 64,000	20	39	35,000
Textile	863,000	827,000	— 36,000	58	67	64,000
Clothing	612,000	568,000	— 44,000	68	76	43,000
Food, Drink, and Tobacco	196,000	235,000	+ 39,000	35	49	60,000
Paper and Printing ...	147,500	141,500	— 6,000	36	48	21,000
Wood	44,000	79,000	+ 35,000	15	32	23,000
China and Earthenware ...	32,000	197,100	+ 93,000	4	10	62,000
Leather	23,100					
Other	49,000					
Government Establishments.	2,000	225,000	+ 223,000	3	47	197,000
Total	2,178,600	2,970,600	+ 792,000	26	37	704,000

93. Employment of Women during the War. Munition Metal Trades.—First and foremost the requirements of munitions brought women into the Metal trades, but down to the end of December, 1914, the special munition problem had not emerged and the female employees in these trades only increased by some 3,000. During the next six months the shortage of munitions was recognised, but the attempt was made to meet it by ordinary methods, by a speeding up of contracts and by a gradual development of the agencies of supply. During this period, some 26,000 women came in. Their increased employment, though not unimportant, was, however, confined to a few well-defined but unskilled processes. Then followed in the second half of 1915 the initial energies of the Ministry of Munitions when the engineering resources of the nation were mobilised and every possible step taken to expand them. Another 45,000 female workers were added to the Metal trades during this period, in which dilution became, as it continued up to the end of the war, a leading method of increasing the munitions labour supply. From the beginning of 1916 the forces set in motion gathered strength and produced results with uninterrupted acceleration. Between July, 1914, and July, 1918, the number of women rose from 170,000 to 594,000, or by 424,000, of whom about 90 per cent. were employed on work customarily done by men. To this last figure must be added a large proportion of the 223,000 women employed, mostly on metal work, in National establishments where practically none had worked before, making a total addition to female metal workers of over 600,000. The most important single trade was shell-making. The women were soon some 60 per cent. of the workers, and made the shell throughout from the roughing and turning of the bodies to the final gauging of the completed shell. In general engineering shops and ship-yards, foundries, gun and aircraft factories, women were introduced on most varieties of men's work—light labouring, turning, shaping,

slotting, drawing, filing, grinding, punching, shearing, machine riveting, gear-cutting, crane-driving, assembling, dressing castings, soldering, welding—and were sometimes promoted as “fitters” and “turners” in the tool-room and as “capstan lathe setters” and “toolsetters.” In some munition factories the men’s work was almost entirely carried out by women, but the processes were not generally the same as were the men’s processes. In factories employing already semi-skilled workers, the job was sometimes identical, but in factories employing normally skilled tradesmen, either the machine was transformed by the adjustment of “jigs” or fool-proof appliances, or the women performed only a part of the man’s job and were confined to one of a comparatively narrow range of operations. “The usual position is that the women may do the whole operation on the machine except the setting-up of the work and setting-up the tool. In certain shops women who have been on their machines for a long time gradually get to setting-up their work and tools, but in general one may say that in skilled work the woman does not do the whole job.”* The effect of the war was, in fact, to hasten greatly the previous movement of the trade towards “specialisation” and subdivision of process. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers were, however, of opinion, as they informed the Committee, that the extent of subdivision and standardisation adopted during the war could not be taken as at all indicative of its probable extent after the war. They thought that it had not always been economical even with low rates of wages for the women employed.

In some factories, notably in shell factories, the output increased enormously, but this was attributed chiefly to improved methods of production. “A woman is doing it better, not because she has got very much greater speed, but she has got very much better methods laid out to enable her to do it. She has the quantity; she has the continuity of production.”† Exact comparisons were therefore hard to make. The Engineering and National Employers’ Federation submitted, however, the following general statement as to the comparative quality and quantity of men’s and women’s output and other factors affecting productive value in the trades represented by them:—

“OUTPUT.

Quality.

Sheet Metal.—Better than men’s work.

Engineering.—Women’s work fair, equal to boys. Men far superior.

Repetition Light Work.—Women and girls equal to men and boys.

Aircraft Woodwork.—Equal in most branches.

Cartridges.—Equal.

Shells.—Men, then boys, women last.

Quantity.

Sheet Metal.—Women 90 per cent. of men’s output.

Engineering.—Women fair. If work varies, women not so good as men. Approximate, two-thirds of men.

Repetition Work.—Nearly same.

Aircraft Woodwork.—Equal.

Cartridges.—Generally equal, and in some cases as much as 20 per cent. more than men.

Shells.—Boys, then men, and women last.

* Mr. Baillie, Director of the Technical Section of the Labour Supply Department.

† Mr. Bean, Managing Director of the Dudley National Projectile Factory.

Cost to Employer.

Women are considerably more costly than men by reason of the cost of tuition, setting up, &c., and larger percentage of scrap.

One large firm employing thousands of women reports that the cost of them represents a standing weekly additional cost of 30 per cent., which figure does not include initial outlay on machinery, &c.

Timekeeping.

Men are the best timekeepers, then boys, and women last. One firm employing 18,000 people state that men lose 3·4 per cent., as compared with 7·1 per cent. of time lost by women.

Length of Service.

Men first, then boys, and women last. Women are constantly changing their place of employment.

A large firm employing about 5,000 women state that of this number 60 per cent. is a "floating" quantity, i.e., constantly changing; the remaining 40 per cent. could be considered as permanent employees.

Aptitude for Training.

Boys first and then young girls, but, speaking generally, there is nothing to choose. Some firms report that women are only "fair." Repetition work they are quick to learn, but where it is of a jobbing nature, and requires special training, women have not been found equal to the work. In this connection, however, it is not surprising, because it has always taken at least four years to train a man as a mechanic."

Mr. Marjoribanks, speaking on behalf of the Federation, drew a distinction between men's work, under which term he included "all-round" or jobbing work requiring a long apprenticeship and experience, or work involving severe physical strain or labouring and women's work, under which term he included all comparatively light work of a repetition or highly-specialised character. On women's work, the women equalled and sometimes surpassed the men in output, but on men's work the women could not compete for lack of training and obvious physical reasons. Other witnesses gave similar evidence. The women were admirably adapted for light repetition work, "on piece-work a woman will always beat a man." "On mass production she will come first every time. . . . We were never able on this particular class of work to get the men to cope with it, they would not stand it. Men will not stand the monotony of a fast repetition job like women, they will not stand by a machine pressing all their lives, but a woman will."* On the other hand Mr. Hutchinson, representing the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, was of opinion that repetition work on automatic machines was unsuitable for women and that men would be willing to do it.

Some employers, as well as the representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, remarked in women's work the high percentage of waste or "scrap" and defects of inaccuracy and over-haste, but other witnesses were satisfied. Major Ovens, Superintendent of six factories at Leeds, speaking in reference to shell-making, said "We have no reason to complain of the quality because our percentage of rejections has been steadily reduced and is practically infinitesimal now," and Mr.

* Mr. Bean.

Hutchinson was inclined to agree that the difference in this matter was a distinction between inexperienced and skilled work rather than between men's and women's.

There was general agreement that women could not compare with apprenticed tradesmen on all-round skilled and jobbing work. "How on earth can you expect a woman to do by instinct what it takes a man four or five years to learn."* In some skilled trades, however, such as acetylene welding, where the process, reserved before the war to fully skilled fitters, boilermakers or coppersmiths, was more or less specialised, the women did "interchangeable jobs with the men" and "it was a pretty generally accepted that the woman's output is equal to the man's . . . in some cases the output is said to be better."* On heavy men's work all the witnesses were again agreed as to certain limitations of female labour. On labouring or transport three women were equal to two men, sometimes two women to one man. In lifting weights above 60 lbs., in carrying bulky packages, women required mechanical or other assistance. In some trades, viz., moulding heavy castings, women were altogether uneconomical. The women, too, were the first to tire on long shifts. For this reason 8 hour shifts were preferred for women to longer ones, and one employer advocated six hours.†

Speaking generally of women employed on men's work, members of the Engineering and National Employers' Federation placed the woman's productive value at about two-thirds of the men's. "Where a woman is paid more than 66 per cent. of a man she ceases to be profitable as a producer."‡ Beyond this point, the employers would prefer to employ boys. The employers laid stress on the high proportionate overhead charges, caused by reduction of output. The cost of shop supervision was again variously estimated at 30 per cent. and 50 per cent. higher where women were employed and one additional supervisor was said to be required for each 100 women. Welfare supervision was provided in addition, but the outlay in this case was said to repay itself and to be comparatively small, one welfare supervisor being required for about 500 women. The women entailed greater difficulty in management and their timekeeping was bad. The time lost was sometimes estimated as high as 23 per cent. on day-shift and 16 per cent. on night-shift, but was stated variously by employers to be worse or better than for men. The trouble was frequently referred to high wages, but also to long hours of work. The time lost was reduced by considerably more than one-half upon an exchange from a 12 hour to an 8 hour shift.

"There is another point against women's employment. The average length of employment in times of peace would be from three to four years. Some of this is due to marriage. 95 per cent. of the women who marry do not come back to work."§ For this reason, employers were unwilling to offer women a long or expensive training. "If the employer finds he is constantly left in the lurch because those women set-up leave to be married, you will never get an employer to be on with them. You might if there was an enormous difference in wages, but it would have to be enormous."|| The representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers could not see, so far as fully skilled work was concerned, how there would be any economic advantage in training a girl for 5 or 7 years if, as a matter of fact, she was going away practically as soon as she had completed her training.

* Mr. Marjoribanks.

† Mr. Bean.

‡ Mr. Ramsay, Engineering and National Employers' Federation.

§ Mr. Melville mith.

|| Mr. Marjoribanks.

For the type of repetition work upon which the women were mainly employed a long training was, however, unnecessary. "The amount of training from the learner to the finished woman is a very brief matter indeed. . . . On perfectly simple work a young girl might earn as much as an adult woman."* Even in the case of skilled trades of a comparatively specialised character the period of training was not necessarily longer than from six to thirteen weeks. "The operation itself may want quite a high degree of skill, but it is skill over quite a small range so it is easily acquired."† Mr. Currie, Director of Training of Munition Workers, told the Committee that some 45,000 women were trained by the Ministry of Munitions mainly in 1917 and 1918 in work which had proved eminently suitable for women, more particularly sheet metal work, aeroplane woodwork, acetylene welding, &c. He thought women took rather longer than men to reach the same standard of efficiency and stated that training tended to lengthen as the scarcity of really skilled men and the need of skilled women to replace them became accentuated. He laid stress on the importance of a good standard of general education and this was also emphasised by employers. High School girls were selected "to do fitting and turning because they have intelligence. You would never dream of putting the ordinary woman who has only got through the lowest classes of the Board School to do fitting and turning, you will put her on labouring or a machine that is absolutely fool-proof."‡

Mr. Marjoribanks, speaking in regard to the future of women in the engineering trades, advocated a regrading or redistribution of work as between men and women after the war. "What I think it means is that you will have to have a very high class workman for doing jobbing work, making the gauges, the jigs, and what is wanted to enable repetition work to be done cheaply and quickly. A woman is ideal for that repetition work, and I call it women's work. Most firms have been doing women's work by men and calling it men's work, and that is a thing which has to be gone into very carefully at the present time, and a line of demarcation laid down." According to the representatives of the Engineering and National Employers' Federation the effect of the introduction of women on work previously done by men was an upgrading of the men who did not do so much repetition work as previously. Other employers referred to the employment of women bringing with it an increased demand for skilled men's labour. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers were of opinion that this employment tended to concentrate men on work which was either highly skilled, arduous or physically disagreeable. "That is one of the reasons why men on highly skilled work, such as tool-making and jig-making, are now complaining."§ This view received support from Mr. Ward, a technical officer of the Ministry of Munitions. The National Federation of Foundry Unions, as did the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, objected also to the work of women in foundries on account of its detrimental effect on the women themselves. The employment of girls on core-making seemed to the National Federation of Foundry Unions disadvantageous as interfering with the proper way for the boy apprentice to be introduced to the art of moulding.

94. Other Metal Trades.—In the Metal trades outside those concerned with munitions, the war produced no great changes. In the Tinplate Trade there was contraction, and no large number of women

* Mr. Madeley, Brassfounders' Employers' Association.

† Mr. Baillie.

‡ Mr. Marjoribanks.

§ Mr. Hutchinson.

replaced men. In Chain-making the broad distinction between men's and women's work did not alter. In the Cycle and Motor Industry, where, before the war, there was no clear demarcation, the nature of women's work was not much affected by their doing a larger proportion of the whole. As regards the Sheffield Light Steel Industries, the employment of women in hacksaw making was extended in the processes on which they were previously engaged; they continued to be employed on the smaller classes of files; they were introduced into certain new processes of cutlery, including machine grinding, on the light grinding of edge tools, and on various machines for the manufacture of machine knives and hand saws. The evidence from representatives of eight associations of employers in these industries followed much the same lines as that from employers in the Munition Metal Trades, but was less favourable as regards the quality and quantity of women's work. They considered that women might usefully, and with advantage to the industry, be employed after the war on subsidiary or simple operations performed by men before the war, and that this would tend to an increased output and an increased demand and to the provision of more work for the skilled men.

95. Chemical Trades.—The Chemical trades were very active during the War owing to the large requirements of Government, the stoppage of supplies of various articles from Germany and the demands from abroad. The proportion of women to workpeople in the industry rose in the first four years of the war from 20 per cent. to 39 per cent., and the number increased by 64,000, of whom 35,000 directly replaced men. Explosives absorbed a large proportion of this number, but there was also considerable replacement of men by women in Soap and Candles and in Drugs and Fine Chemicals, in which trades many women are engaged in normal circumstances, and in Heavy Chemicals, in which there were but few before the war.

In *Heavy Chemicals* the greater part of the work is unskilled, and consists in the handling of weighty materials. The women were mainly introduced as labourers, and in packing, loading and unloading, trucking, wheeling and otherwise moving materials, and in general yard work. A few women were put on to machine work, but work of this kind was small in amount. In the Salt trade, it was agreed that it was not advisable to employ women in firing salt pans or handling wet salt, but women were again largely engaged in light labouring and trucking. In some cases of labouring, the women were provided with light tools, but special provision of this kind was exceptional. More often, where both sexes were employed together, the women were given the lighter parts of the work and the men were left with the heavier jobs. The employers said that, on the whole, the men had shown great consideration for the women, and had taken the harder part without grumbling, and they had helped the women, but their own output had been reduced in consequence. There was no doubt that the men's work had been consistently heavier since the introduction of female labour.

The cost of labour to the employer was heavily increased for the same reasons. The number of women required to replace each man appeared at first to make the cost almost prohibitive. The number was even as much as five, but the women improved with experience. Figures given by the Chemical Employers' Federation showed that, according to the nature of the work, 1·6 to 2·8 were required to replace one man. The cost was still further increased by the necessity of providing extra supervision by forewomen and welfare supervisors, not to mention nurses, cooks, canteen and bath attendants, and by the need for supplying extra

clothing or overalls. In those branches of heavy chemicals in which women were employed, manufacturing costs were estimated to have been increased between 10 per cent. and 20 per cent.

Generally in Heavy Chemicals women's time-keeping, owing, it was said, to sickness and domestic duties, was worse than the men's; in the Salt trade, however, it was generally good, and employers stated "we have girls packing to-day who have been at it for the last ten years."*

As regards the future, the general opinion of the employers was that Heavy Chemicals was not a trade suitable for women, and that the high cost of their labour, even with a third less than man's wages, would prohibit their employment.

In *Drugs and Fine Chemicals*, there was some substitution of women for men in process work, and they also assisted men in packing goods for transport and doing light portorage work. They did in the main, after some rearrangement of operations, the work of lads and left the heavier jobs in the men's hands. The Manufacturers' Association stated that the women's output was less than the men's and their cost to employers, owing to overhead charges, consequently greater. They lost more time than did men, did not look forward to long service, and, though quicker at learning the work, were less moved to progress by ambition.

A certain number of women were introduced on scientific work in the laboratories, but they were disappointing, owing to the fact that they left for marriage before they reached the point of becoming expert analysts. Girls were, however, apt pupils and particularly good and quick on light machines, tool work, drawing office and chemical laboratory work.

In *Explosives*, the work was largely on processes not generally considered by employers as men's work. The comparison was said to be between high-grade female labour and low-grade male labour. Both as to quality and quantity the women were distinctly successful on light work involving care, but showed no initiative in an emergency and required a longer period to learn the work. A male overlooker was generally employed. For heavy work and quick action a man was of more service, two men being of as much value as three or four women. Timekeeping was indifferent and the women constantly changing, but there was improvement in the latter respect with a better selection of women. In the great National Factory at Gretna, the women were said to be eminently suited to process work, and no modifications were made, except to provide more elaborate safety devices, and to reduce weights in tools, &c. On the other hand, the women's lack of endurance caused the output to fall short in quantity, and they were less careful in handling plant. They also required extra supervision, but improved with experience, and were themselves promoted to be senior chargehands and forewomen. Welfare supervision was said to be essential to maintain efficiency.

96. Textile Trades.—In the Textile trades as a whole, the proportion of women rose during the War from 58 per cent. to 67 per cent., but the numbers did not increase, additions in the hosiery, dyeing and bleaching, and woollen trades, due, no doubt, mainly to army and navy clothing requirements, being nullified by a large reduction in the cotton industry. In the Textile trades as a whole there was, however, a substitution up to January, 1918, of some 60,000 women for men, of which about a third

* Statement of Chemical Employers' Federation.

was in cotton-weaving, a sixth in cotton-spinning, another sixth in woollen and worsted, and the larger part of the remainder in dyeing and bleaching and hosiery. The changes in the other trades were not sufficient to make it necessary to consider them here.

The depression in the *Cotton* industry which occurred at the commencement of the war had largely disappeared by the middle of 1916, when the increased enlistment of men and loss of labour to munition works resulted in some shortage of labour. In the last two years of the war, however, as the general production of the country was more and more concentrated on work connected with its prosecution, the production of cotton lessened and women passed, at any rate temporarily, out of the trade or replaced men who had done so. This substitution was small in the blowing and card-room, not very considerable in spinning, but substantial among the weavers.

In the blowing room, a few women were introduced on the men's machines, as assistants in bale-breaking and bale-opening and as "strippers" and "grinders" on the "card engine" or combing machine, but the work was rough and rather dangerous. The women were confined to more or less light tasks as assistants, so that extra burdens were thrown on the men. The Committee were informed by the Amalgamated Society of Card-room and Blowing-room Operatives that the experiment was not generally successful and that the women were not expected to remain. Substitution appears to have been somewhat more important in spinning. The Ashton-under-Lyne and Oldham Spinning Associations relaxed their rules and admitted women as "piecers" or assistants in mule spinning rooms for the period of the war, but not as "minders" or "joiner-minders" and the Trade Unions would not allow their employment as "drawers in," which the Committee were informed is customary abroad.

The large body of substituted women were weavers. "There are no jobs where we could substitute women, only in weaving."* The women were already the majority of the workers, but as the men enlisted for service or were attracted to munition factories by the prospect of high wages, married women returned to the trade and young girls were promoted from two or three looms to the women's four-loom machines. Married women "who had been weaving before could come back, and they got into it in a day or two again. . . . We have got all the female labour we could in that way."† In the case of young girls promoted to women's machines, the experiment was least successful. "They did not get the production that we had done previously, but we had to put up with the best we could get." The men were, however, generally expected to return.

Owing to the unique experiences of men and women cotton weavers, employed for a century under the same conditions on the same job, the evidence as to the comparative productive value of male and female labour has a particular significance. The method of payment is piece-work and both sexes work to the same list. Mr. Greenhalgh, Staff Officer of the Ministry of Labour and former Secretary of the Rishton Weavers' Association, told the Committee:—"Take women altogether as compared to men, I venture to say that women upon weaving take home more money than the men. That is because of the nature of the work. The more adept you are in the use of your hands, the smaller your hands the better you can handle twist and weft, and the better you can draw in ends that are broken, so that a man who has big hands is hampered in

* Mr. John Taylor, Secretary of the Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association.

† Mr. John Taylor.

comparison with his daughter, and the daughter takes home more money at the week-end than he does." Mr. John Taylor expressed a similar view. "In many cases a female weaver would earn more than a man. Weaving is not a man's job. It is exceptionally light work and they are always there under cover and under good conditions." On the whole, the women are preferred. "You cannot get sufficient women to run your looms, although you get all the females you can, you have to have men." Speaking in reference to the future of the trade, the same witness said: "I think the employers would be inclined, if there was sufficient female labour, to give the females the preference, although it is a system which has gone on for such a large number of years, that the employers have no feeling in the matter at all."

The *Woollen and Worsted* industry was more active during the war than the other textile trades owing to Government requirements, but after suffering from shortage of labour in the first two years was contracted owing to difficulty in getting raw material in 1917 and 1918. The proportion of women to men employed increased from 56 per cent. to 62·5 per cent. The actual number was about the same in July, 1918, as in July, 1914; the number of women replacing men by January, 1918, was 10,900. Substitution followed broadly the same lines as in the cotton industry. In Wool-combing some women were introduced on the men's machines for "wool-pulling," "bowl-feeding," "hopper-feeding," "making up" and "card back-end minding"—but the men's day-work was, according to the evidence of the National Society of Woolcombers, unsuited to women under the conditions actually obtaining. Women were further employed on the men's night-turn, but the hours of work were reduced from 11½ to 10½ per shift and the conditions subjected to certain Home Office regulations. The employers stated in evidence that the quality of the women's work was good, but the quantity below the average in manual labour. Time-keeping was bad. The women, mainly married women with home duties, lost 30 per cent. more time than the men and there were 40 per cent. more changes in 12 months. This evidence was disputed by trade union witnesses, but both sides were definite that the women suffered in health on night-work.

In Spinning, new districts were opened to women piecers, who took the place of boys and young men, and women were employed for the first time on night-work. In Weaving, the low rate of wages had practically driven away the men except from the Huddersfield men's suiting trade, but here the proportion of women increased from 50 per cent. to 80 per cent. Speaking in reference to the comparative productive value of men and women weavers, Mr. G. H. Wood, representing the Yorkshire and Lancashire manufacturers, told the Committee that the 10 per cent. difference in the piece rate paid to one or the other was almost exactly balanced: "Before the war, it used to be practically a matter of indifference whether a man employed a male or female weaver. He paid the male weaver more per piece than he paid the female, but he had certain advantages in the male—he had more output and it did not cost him as much for overseeing, that is, timing and overlooking, and the men could work overtime at a pinch and the women could not. Some firms employed no women at all, other firms employed no men, and each used to think they were doing the best." He added: "There is one experience we have about the employment of women, and this particularly relates to piece-work as distinct from time-work. They stay away more for what are from the point of view of the employer trivial reasons. A day's washing may be a very serious thing for a woman, but to stay away

and leave her machine idle for a day's wash does not appear to be anything but trivial to her employer." The comparatively low wages of women woollen weavers leaves obviously less margin than in the cotton industry for domestic assistance. Mr. Wood estimated the difference in the average productive value of male and female labour at about 22 per cent.

Mr. Glenny, representing the Manufacturers in the Scotch Tweed Trade, spoke in the same way of certain disabilities of the women. "Female workers cannot beam their own warps, women 'drawers' cannot lift the heavy beams into position, women 'piecers' cannot carry the heavy spools." In this trade, some women were introduced in the milling and scouring departments, but the women had a difficulty in handling the heavy wet pieces, and the experiment was not successful. "It is probable that the Scotch Tweed Trade will automatically resume the pre-war conditions, as the men are needed and can be absorbed as they come back for the work the women cannot so efficiently execute on account of their physical disabilities."*

In the *Hosiery* trade shortage of labour and lack of materials checked in the latter years of the war an expansion largely arising from Government requirements. The proportion of women rose during the war from 75 to 80 per cent. and the number from 60,000 to 72,900, but not more than 3,000 took the place of men, and these mainly on work done by women before. In Scotland the number of men leaving and women coming in was greater than in the Midlands. In Leicester, a few women were introduced on Cotton's Patent Frames. On their own light machines the women equalled or surpassed the men in output, but on these larger and more complicated frames they were unable to compete and caused, besides extra waste, damage to the machines. The women were not expected to remain. This opinion was to some extent confirmed from Scotland, where women were normally employed on the same frames but had been introduced on to knitting machines during the war. The women's output was fair, but they lacked the men's skill in the care and repair of their machines. They were, moreover, less able to work overtime and more liable to sickness, so that there was a movement before the war to replace women by men.

In Leicester, women were almost as scarce as men during the war. Little girls or runabouts were promoted to women's machines, and earned at the end of a year nearly as much as the women. Married women returned to the trade for the same reason, but were bad time-keepers, "owing to domestic duties." Single women were almost as good as the men.

There was less contraction in the *Bleaching, Dyeing and Finishing* trades connected with the woollen and worsted industries which had large Government orders than in those connected with cotton manufacture, but numbers of men left both and were partly replaced by women, of whom the proportion rose from 20 per cent. to 28 per cent., while the number increased from 24,000 to 31,000, of whom about 9,000 took the place of men. Following the dilution agreement of 1916, a list of processes was drawn up with the object of admitting women on all men's work not entailing undue physical strain or danger to health from heat fumes, dust, &c. Some of this work was carried out by women with no more than usual supervision, but the women were also employed in "sets" with the men, to whom they acted mostly as assistants. In the Lancashire districts the proportion of women increased from 25 to 50 per

* Mr. Glenny, South of Scotland Chamber of Commerce.

cent., but not more than from 2 to 2½ per cent. in the heavy Yorkshire trade.

Witnesses were mainly agreed as regards the comparative output of men and women. On light hand or machine processes, the women turned out as much as the men, but on work involving the constant carrying and lifting of weights the women's output fell considerably below the average. In "sets" it took as many as four women to do the work of three men, and even then threw an extra burden on the men who remained. The cost was further increased to the employers by the necessity of providing waggons to run the pieces to and from the machines. On the question of time-keeping opinions were less unanimous. Of five Employers' Associations, one stated that the women were good, three that the women were bad, and one that the women were "good as regards punctuality, but frequently off work." All remarked again on the women's short term of service. The employers were inclined, however, to welcome the women in the trade, subject to Trade Union agreement. Mr. Wilson, representing the English Velvet and Cord Dyers' Association, in the scouring, bleaching and dyeing departments of which trade the women had been introduced since the war to the extent of 90 per cent. of the workers, stated that the trade was satisfied with female labour, and that women could be advantageously employed in certain processes which were once men's. Trade Union witnesses stated, on the other hand, that there was very little light work in this trade and they were averse to the introduction of women on the wet processes. A velvet piece would weigh, when wet, from 40 to 60 lb. and very few cords or moles less than 112 lb., and the weight and bulkiness even when dry was too much for women. In their opinion, the women were already employed before the war as far as was economically sound. In the recently published Home Office pamphlet on the Substitution of Women in Non-munition Factories it is stated with regard to this trade that "in the lighter class of operations, and even in many of the heavier as assistants, they (women) could undoubtedly continue after the war if a satisfactory agreement can be come to with the Trade Unions. The organisation of the women in the men's unions which has taken place should facilitate such an arrangement."

97. Clothing Trades.—There was a considerable exodus of women from the Clothing trades, and the number fell during the war from 612,000 to 568,000. In Dressmaking, not less than 28,000 women left the trade. The number increased, on the other hand, in Boot and Shoe Making and at one time in Tailoring, owing to Government work. In these two trades only, substitution took place to any large extent.

In *Tailoring*, although the number of women increased by only 9 per cent. during the war, the proportion of women increased from 63 to 72 per cent. and more than 13,000 women took the places of men. In the Wholesale Clothing trade, the women were already established on the main part of the lighter or less skilled work, but the men's processes included a certain amount of light and semi-skilled work, and these were further specialised and divided up into simple operations, each of which could be readily learned by inexperienced women. The effect was, in fact, to obliterate the element of skill. In this way, in one great firm employing some 2,800 workpeople and generally typical of others, women were introduced to the extent of 40 per cent. in hand-cutting, 40 per cent. in "laying up," 90 per cent. in trimming and sorting, 70 per cent. in fitting, 66 per cent. in pressing and 10 per cent. in "passing" or overlooking. This latter process and also trimming and sorting was

held to be quite suitable to women, but only the lighter parts of the work. Knife-cutting and the heavier pressing were held to be quite unsuitable. The effect was at the same time to concentrate the remaining men on the more skilled and heavier part of the work and to make things harder for them.

In a comparison of their work, the women's output was generally held by employers to be inferior both in quantity and quality, even on processes adapted to them, although one firm remarked on improvement in quality. They could not stand the physical strain as well as the men, and seemed incapable of long sustained effort. The witness from the United Garment Workers' Union thought that some women were exceedingly smart and would keep up with any man, but as a rule women were less capable than men on heavy work. According to the employers, they had not the same financial incentives, were satisfied with lower earnings, and did not make the same exertions as the men. Married women especially were bad timekeepers. The single women were good in this respect, apart from absences due to sickness. The cost to the employers was further increased by the women's need of extra supervision. The women were not expected to remain on men's work, except at substantially lower wages. Employers and operatives were agreed that if material became available there would be women's work after the war for all the women employed during it.

In the *Boot and Shoe* trade the proportion of women increased from 34 to 43 per cent. and the number by 12,500, of whom some 11,000 were employed in the men's departments, clicking, pressing, lasting, finishing and stitching. Of these processes, however, "clicking" was generally held by witnesses to be too dangerous for women, and other processes, except stitching, too heavy. The cutting of the linings, upon which the women were largely employed, was not unsuitable, but the women had not sufficient experience, and the employers preferred the men. Nor were the men prepared to give over, after the war, all the light jobs to women, and had further a sentimental objection to "mixed" departments. The women were expected to return to the closing room.

Women and girls in a small degree replaced men as cutters in *Shirt-making*, but were not expected to remain at this work after the war. Nor were women likely to be kept on at the heavy and sometimes noxious men's processes in *Dyeing and Cleaning* clothes, though in dyeing of hats, feathers and small articles and in the wet cleaning of fancy goods they proved suitable, and dyers and cleaners would probably wish to employ in their trades 5 to 10 per cent. more women than before the war. The employers did not wish to retain women on rotary washing machines and hydro-extractors, on which they have been employed in *Laundries* in the absence of men during the war.

98. Food, Drink and Tobacco Trades.—In these trades the proportion of females to all workpeople increased from 35 per cent. to 49 per cent. in July, 1918, while the number rose by 39,000 and 60,000 women took the places of men. Of the food and drink trades, those most affected by substitution were grain-milling, bread and biscuit and brewing.

In *Grain-milling*, some 7,800 women were introduced on men's work by January, 1918. In flour mills the women were employed in sweeping and cleaning, flour and offal packing, trucking and sack repairing, but the heavy work was not generally adapted to female labour. Some firms introduced machinery in order to assist the women, or three women took the places of two men, or the women were confined to the lighter parts and the men to the heavier parts of the work. Trade Union wit-

nesses told the Committee that the men would not tolerate this in normal times. The women were not expected to remain. In bread and biscuit-making the women increased by 15,000, but in *Bread-making*, certainly, the experiment was not more successful. Some women were introduced in manufacture, moulding the dough, greasing the tins, etc., but the irregular hours of work, Sunday work, and the heat of the ovens militated against their permanent employment. The employers preferred men. The women were more successful in certain subsidiary processes, viz., packing, weighing, cleaning floors and walls, working lifts, etc., and were more likely to remain when employed on them. Generally speaking, however, the lesser physical capacity of women, and the limitations of their overtime, made their employment unsatisfactory. The quality of the output was inferior owing to the lack of training, while the quantity was estimated by employers at about two-thirds. The fact of men and women working together was said to have the further effect that the men relaxed their efforts to the level of the women's physical powers. Time-keeping was satisfactory, except for the frequent absences due to domestic duties, and the extra staff required for this reason was estimated at 10 per cent. Many women were married, and at least one great firm opened a crèche adjacent to the works. In *Biscuit-making* women were introduced in the same way to the manufacturing branches of the trade, mainly on youths' work, with a slightly greater measure of success. One important firm wrote to the Committee—"It is not our present intention to employ women to do men's work, provided we can get men to do it, but we hope to employ more women on the lighter work that they have always done in biscuit factories." Another firm stated that they would not generally wish to employ women on the manufacturing processes, but that there were certain jobs on which they could be suitably employed.

In *Brewing*, where nearly 13,000 women took the places of men, the experience was, on the whole, more successful. The women were introduced in the brewing and lager departments, filling casks (lads' work), weighing and breaking hops (men's work), cask and pulp washing; in the cooperage department, rinsing casks, number-taking, testing and smelling; and in the maltings department. On light work, a strong woman of 20 to 25 was regarded as equal to a man, but in shovelling malt or moving the big casks and other heavy work, two men were equal to three women. In the maltings department, the women were assisted by electric hoists to lift the grain, and the measures used by women for putting barley into sacks were only half measures. In the bottling department, women were already employed before the war, and girls were preferred to boys as more careful and tractable. They caused less damage, turned out as much work, and were quicker to learn a new machine. On the other hand, if the machines went wrong they could not put them right. One great firm, where women and girls had practically displaced men and boys altogether in the bottling department, stated that contrary to the experience in other departments, it was more economical to employ women than men. Timekeeping on the whole was less good among women than men and the term of service was short. The women looked upon the work as temporary in nature and therefore had not the same interest in it as the men.

In the *Tobacco* trade, the increase in the number of women employed—over 9,000—was nearly three times the contraction in the number of men. The trade is becoming more and more a woman's trade, though it would appear that certain processes in it are heavy and will remain men's processes.

99. Printing and Bookbinding Trades.—Owing to the slackness of these trades, the number of women decreased by more than 6,000 during the war. On the other hand, the proportion of females to the total number of workpeople rose from 36 to 48 per cent. and by January, 1918, over 20,000 women had taken the places of men enlisted for service. In *Printing*, substitution was not considerable, and the women were employed mainly on processes performed by them before. In London and Manchester women were, however, promoted to some extent to men's semi-skilled and unskilled work. The employers were generally of opinion that a larger introduction of women would have been possible, as much of the work was suitable for women. The feeding of large flat bed machines, to which the women had been introduced, was, however, stated by the National Society of Operative Printers, to be unsuitable. In Scotland, where women compositors had been employed for fifty years in Edinburgh, the Trade Union relaxed its rules in other towns when male labour was not available and some women were employed instead of men compositors. The Federation of Master Printers, in the evidence given as to war-time conditions, stated that women's work was generally as good, often better, than men's; their output equal; and the cost often lower, except where male assistance had been necessary in lifting heavy "frames," etc. Women on monotype key-boards could not "stay the pace" so well as men, and few were capable of accepting responsibility, but for routine mechanical work of a simple nature, e.g., machine-feeding, envelope folding, embossing, book-folding, etc., women were to be preferred to men. Timekeeping was good in London, but broken time was common in Scotland. The average factory life of a journey-woman was generally estimated at eight years. The Scottish employers stated, however, that should women be paid the same wages as men or even the same piece rates, there would always be a greater demand for men.

In the *Binding* section of these trades in London the women were admitted by the Trade Union on a scheduled list of processes, but owing to the restrictions as to the proportion of women to men and conditions of wages, few firms took advantage of the agreement. The work was, however, considered suitable and the women had done it satisfactorily. Time-keeping was indifferent, but this was referred to high wages. In Leeds a few women were introduced on cutting machines but afterwards withdrawn. The women, according to Leeds employers, were not suitable except for selected work and slower than men from lack of experience.

100. Wood and Aircraft Trades.—The proportion of females to all workpeople in the Wood Trades increased from under 15 per cent. to over 30 per cent. or by 35,000 women, of whom 23,000 replaced men. A few thousand women were introduced into *Saw Milling*, but the work was laborious, involving the lifting of heavy weights, or skilled and requiring long training. The results were not successful. In the *Cabinet* branch women were introduced to bench work and in *Upholstery* branches employed on canvas machining for aeroplanes, stretchers, tents, canvas buckets, haversacks, etc., and to some extent in cutting. But the most important development was in *Aircraft* manufacture. The industry was still in the experimental stage at the outbreak of war, employing a handful of skilled mechanics and cabinet makers, but has expanded since to an enormous extent and "grown up as a sub-divided trade." About one-third of the industry at present is said to have been built up by women, who are employed on various forms of wood-milling, sawing, planing, assembling, and in "fabricking," painting, polishing, varnishing

and doping as well as on metal work. The separate processes are readily learned by inexperienced workers after a few weeks or months of training. There is a certain trick in doping, and the worker is sometimes exposed to risk from the fumes, but the women succeed in doing it in a short time. Some of these processes, upon which the women are employed, are claimed by the employers as semi-skilled, but by the Trade Unions as skilled, entitling to the skilled rates of wages. The employers are anxious to keep the women, but not at men's rates of wages. With the return of the industry to commercial purposes and a demand for machines of many types, the conditions may, however, be less adapted to semi-skilled or female labour, and a large extension of the use of machines would require a great body of repairers with all-round knowledge and skill.

101. China and Earthenware Trades.—In these trades the number of women increased during the war by less than 10 per cent., but some 5,000 took the places of men. The women were introduced as placers, drawers, dippers, turners, painters, plate and saucer-makers, but generally employed on only a part of the men's work. Thus, in placing, they placed only the small articles and did not carry their saggars into the ovens, which was done by the men for them. In drawing the ovens they did not carry any heavy saggars, but simply assisted the men in emptying them and carrying the goods into the warehouse. Women dippers only dipped the small articles and those of less importance. Dipping is a dangerous process where lead is used owing to the risk of poisoning, and in the case of women, the Home Office insisted on certain precautions, including a monthly medical examination. In plate-making, women made the smaller sizes. Again in turning, men and women did entirely different work, the men turned by hand and the women by machine, but one firm, in an interesting comparison, stated that the women's output of electrical insulators was inferior in quality, because it was made by machine, but 40 per cent. more in quantity and that the cost was 25 per cent. less to the employer. In other processes, such as casting or handling, women were promoted from smaller to larger articles, while women casters copied the men and employed fettlers to remove the roughness of edges for the first time, thereby substantially increasing their earnings. In tile-making, women were promoted in the same way to 6" by 6" white wall tiles, the lightness of this work making it especially adapted to them. They were also introduced as placers, but their output here was less than the man's by 50 per cent. This reduction was, however, partly attributed to the fact that the man had a woman to assist him in finishing, whereas the woman did the whole job herself. One woman could not control another. But this case was exceptional. The more frequent result of the changes was to divide up the job, and give to the woman the lighter or easier and leave to the men the heavier or harder parts.

The experiment was not on the whole successful. The women were already employed largely in every occupation in which their services could be utilised to advantage. Such apprenticeship as they had did not qualify them for the skilled work in the making departments, nor had they the physical strength for the heavy work in other departments. The output was markedly inferior either in quality or quantity. They were moreover bad time-keepers, but the single women were better than the married. As regards the future, it was considered that the employment of women could only increase from what it was before the war if the output of the factories was increased.

102. Leather Trades.—In the leather trades the number of women increased from 23,100 in July, 1914, to 43,100 in July, 1918, or by 20,000 of whom the whole number replaced men. In *Heavy Leather Tanning*, where only a few women were employed before the war in dry occupations, the women were 30 per cent. of the workers in July, 1918. They were employed on every class of work, both wet and dry, but not to any great extent on machines or heavy work. They worked among the men and sometimes as part of gangs, the men doing the heavy work, *e.g.*, rolling and striking, and the women the lighter work, *e.g.*, oiling and pushing barrows, work generally done by young men and youths. The employers stated that, approximately, it took three women to do two men's work, but they desired to retain them after the war to do the work of youths who, they anticipated, would be less available. In *Light Leather Tanning* the women were introduced in the same way, with the same effects in throwing the heavier and dirtier work on the men, a departure to which the Trade Unions would not consent in normal times. The work was said by employers to be not unsuitable to women, provided they wore proper clothing, but the output fell off both in quantity and quality. The latter was, however, not entirely the women's fault, because they came in unskilled and lacked proper skilled supervision. Given the same time in the factory, the quality of the work would be equal. A few women were also introduced in finishing, and more women employed in the *Manufacturing* branches and promoted to harness-making where they had shown adaptability. In the leather trades the women are not generally accused of bad time-keeping. The representatives of the United Tanners Federation told the Committee that time-keeping was a little better for the women than the men, the women were more orderly and cleaner, and 50 per cent. of them stuck to their work. The representatives of the Light Leather Chrome Tanning industry said, too, that piece-workers were not so good, but women on time-work were as good time-keepers as the men. A representative of the National Leather Trades' Federation considered that the leather industry was likely to expand and that the only way to employ the women was to increase the factories and give them the kind of work they did before the war. If there were a shortage of lads, girls could go into the lighter section of chrome tanning.

103. Gas, Water and Electricity.—The number of employed women under these headings increased from 600 in July, 1914, to between 4,000 and 5,000 in July, 1918, of whom most replaced men. The representative of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, giving evidence before the Committee, stated that they were employing from 1,700 to 1,800 women. They were first introduced as meter-readers and came in later to the gas works proper, including the fitting and engineering shops, the carbonising department, coke handling, oxydising plant and general labourers' work, chemical processes (not laboratory work), and as slot-meter collectors and lamp-lighters. Generally speaking, the women did about two-thirds of the men's work. They were not suited for the retort house or coal trimming. The lighter part of the general labouring work could be done by women and some could be employed in coke handling. Women meter-readers, who were exclusively employed at the end of the war, were restricted to 60 houses against 90 houses visited by the men before, but were more suitable for the work than men. On machine shift-work (charging or discharging machines) the women turned out as much as the men; and, where the same piece rates were paid in loading

coke and coal and filling coke sacks, the earnings varied very little. In lamp-lighting they were excellent, the only objection being to the early morning and night work, and they did the same quantity of work as the men. Other companies made less use of women and employed them chiefly as general labourers and for outside work such as lamp-lighting.

104. Transport.—In Transport (excluding municipal tramways) the proportion of females to the total number of workpeople increased from 2 per cent. in July, 1914, to 11 per cent. in July, 1918, or by 81,000, of whom about four-fifths directly replaced men. In all *Railways* the general Clerical Staff increased in number from 2,431 to 25,161, the general wages staff from 9,135 to 36,984, the general workshop staff from 857 to 6,305. The following table, extracted from a Board of Trade return, compares the number of females employed in various railway occupations in July, 1914, and July, 1918:—

Occupation.	July, 1914.	July, 1918.
Booking Clerks... ..	152	3,612
Telegraph and Telephone Operators and other Clerks	2,800	20,995
Ticket Collectors	—	1,972
Carriage Cleaners	214	4,603
Engine Cleaners	—	3,065
Porters and Checkers	3	9,980
Workshop Labourers	43	2,547
Other Labourers	420	580
Cooks, Waitresses and Attendants	1,239	3,641
Signal and Points Women, Gate-Keepers, Guards and Conductors	437	1,292
Munitions, Machinists and Mechanics	44	1,082
Painters and Cleaners (including Charwomen)	698	1,177
Total (including Unspecified Occupations)	12,423	65,887

Women were also employed as rail motor conductors, carwomen, motor drivers, lamp-cleaners and messengers.

One big company estimated the proportion of women goods porters at about 80 per cent. of the staff. Generally speaking, more women were employed than the number of men they replaced, and the women did the lighter parts of the work. Thus, in a mixed gang of men and women goods porters, less goods were shifted and extra work thrown on the male checker or caller-off; the work was too laborious for women, and they could only manage weights up to 3 or 4 cwt. Among carriage cleaners the staff of women was nearly three-quarters as much again as the staff of men. In small railway stations, it was necessary to employ two women porters instead of one man. Women ticket collectors did not assist with parcels, luggage, &c., and were not so expeditious in examining tickets. There were many women gate-keepers, but the men were opposed to the women doing this work, or to their employment in signalling or shunting. In regard to manual work, it was generally said by the companies that the women were not equal to the men. They were not physically fitted for the heavier duties, could not cope with emergencies, and, through lack of training, could not take on work other than their own particular job. The women regarded their position as temporary, and few showed any desire for training. There was further, a tendency, where both sexes were employed together, for the men's output to be reduced to the women's level, and the cost to the employer to be increased accordingly. The women were not generally expected

to remain, except as carriage cleaners and to some extent as ticket collectors.

In *Tramways*, the number of women rose during the same period from 1,300 to nearly 22,000, in the *Omnibus Service* from 300 to 4,500. The new posts to which they were promoted included those of conductors, drivers, cleaners; armature winders, &c., in the shops; road repairers, and a few inspectors and time-keepers. At the end of 1918, the women conductors were said to be 90 per cent. of the workers. From the point of view of the companies and local authorities, the experiment was not, however, a complete success. The following objections were raised against women conductors by the Tramways and Light Railways Association and the Municipal Tramways Association, and the London General Omnibus Company expressed similar views:—

- (1) Unreliability in reporting for work.
- (2) Physical inability to collect fares in rush hours.
- (3) Higher relative cost, owing to the larger staff required, loss of traffic, loss of fares, absence during illness, &c.
- (4) Greater number of complaints from the public.

The women were slack in collecting fares, had more "shorts," were less efficient than the men in making up bills or reports and less courteous to passengers. They were "birds of passage," involving high cost of instruction. The first women coming in from motives of patriotism were the best. The shortcomings of the women were, however, disputed by the Trade Unions, including male and female members. The General Manager of an important municipal undertaking wrote to the Committee—"In justice to the women, I think it only fair to call attention to the fact that conditions on tramcars during the first 3½ years have been abnormal and increasingly difficult. We had first of all to make a slight increase in working hours, viz., from 51 to 54 hours a week. The number of passengers carried per car mile has increased considerably." The London General Omnibus Company had, however, based their comparison on the work of men and women working on the same routes at the same times. This Company thought the women would have done better if they had been allowed by the men's Unions to work shorter hours. They laid stress, however, on the work being beneficial to the health of women and medical testimony supported this view. The objection taken by the Companies to women drivers was mainly on physical grounds: inability to work brakes properly, danger to the public when there were steep gradients, in congested traffic, or under emergencies. For similar reasons, however, women were unfitted for cleaning under the cars in rough or dirty weather or at nights. Road repairing, too, was generally held by the Companies to be men's work.

105. Agriculture.—The number of women employed as permanent labour in agriculture in Great Britain increased from 80,000 (57,000 in England and Wales and 23,000 in Scotland) in July, 1914, to 113,000 in July, 1918, or by 33,000 women, and the number in casual labour in Great Britain from 50,000 to 65,000, or by 15,000, while in permanent and casual labour in Ireland the number is estimated by the Board of Trade to have declined from 60,000 to 50,000. The figures are difficult to estimate and the Board of Agriculture believe that a considerably larger number of women than the 228,000 to which the above figures for July, 1918, total, were in agriculture at the end of the war.

This large increase was doubtless due to the patriotic response of women of all classes to do work upon the land in the place of men on

war service. Many educated women joined in the work, and it is an inference drawn by those watching over the movement that the presence of these educated women, coupled with the facts that the life is really very healthy and the work is now much better paid, have caused farm work to be no longer regarded as a somewhat degrading occupation for women, but rather as one which is both honourable and useful. Another fact that has emerged is that there are certain kinds of farm work for which women have special skill, and in which they can become at least as efficient as the skilled men, if not more so. These are dairying, milking, the care of young stock, poultry keeping, and certain sides of market garden work.

Under the emergency of war, it has not been possible to allow a sufficient amount of time for the training of women, but notwithstanding this disadvantage, the Board of Agriculture consider that women have done so well that there is little doubt that with better agricultural and educational training they should in the future be a very valuable asset indeed to agriculture. Whether their numbers will be maintained in the future cannot with certainty be predicted, but if the necessary encouragement is given a large part of the work which they have taken up as a war measure should remain in their hands. Some women will, moreover, doubtless advance to the stage of becoming owners and tenants of small holdings and farms both in this country and in the Dominions. They may also be expected to qualify for the many posts in agriculture and horticulture, where trained intelligence is of greater value than physical strength.

106. Hotels, Public Houses, &c.—Under this head the number of women increased by 21 per cent., or 39,000. In catering establishments women have been brought into all branches of the industry and into departments they had never previously entered. The first-class hotels have drawn a considerable number of waiters from second-class hotels and restaurants, but even establishments of the best class now employ women in occupations in which men were almost exclusively employed before the war, viz., as lift and cloak room attendants, in clerical work, including audit, stocktaking and bill office duties, in cellar work, window cleaning, electro-plate washing and, in some cases, in cooking. Women have also replaced men waiters in some establishments employing all men before the war, or employing men for the late dinner service. In most occupations the women are not quite equal to the men, but mainly for lack of experience. Waitresses, for example, cannot undertake even in normal times the same number of tables as men waiters, and, although their time-keeping is as good as the men's, the normal employer has to keep an additional 10 per cent. of women on active service, i.e., supposing a firm has 100 waitresses in employment, it must have 110 on its list. Women have not replaced men to a very great extent as cooks and are not looked upon in the same way as a chef. The most important opening for women after the war is the boarding-house service, where large numbers of Germans and Austrians were employed before.

107. Domestic Service.—It is estimated that displacement from domestic service and from very small workshops and workrooms in the dressmaking trade taken together amounted to 400,000. Skilled domestic servants, because of their generally superior intelligence and physical fitness, were in high demand in munition factories. For this reason, and owing to attractive openings in other occupations depleted of male workers, the falling off in the supply of servants, especially of young servants, which had begun before the war owing to the

increase in clerical and other positions admitting of living-out, was greatly accelerated. The shortage of cook-generals and house-parlour-maids was even more seriously felt and aggravated by the increased number of households requiring general servants. "Inefficients" readily secured employment, while mistresses were compelled to make good the shortage by their own labour. Many of the girls are, moreover, not expected to return, at least to living-in service, except as a last resort. They want more freedom and limited hours of work.

108. Commercial Occupations.—Including wholesale and retail shops, the percentage of females to all workpeople engaged in commerce rose during the same period from 29 to 54 per cent., or by 364,000 women, of whom the large body replaced men, the distributive trades not being protected under the Military Service Acts, except to a limited extent as regards buyers. Apart from the employment of women in managerial posts, displacement took place chiefly in grocery, fish and provision shops and in hardware. The general opinion of employers was that three women were efficient when taking the place of two men, while the cost was further increased by the higher percentage of wastage. But these facts were in part disputed by the Trade Unions or attributed to the exceptional circumstances of the war. Figures were given by the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative and Commercial Employees showing that the places of 163 men belonging to the York district were taken by not more than 164 women. Again, in grocery departments, the work had been enormously increased by the complicated food orders, and by sales in small quantities. The wastage was necessarily greater in weighing out parcels of $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. than of 2 lb. or 7 lb. The women required certain assistance in handling sides of bacon and heavy packages, but in large shops this assistance was given by labourers, and the women's time was at least as well spent in the skilled work of salesmanship. Women assistants promoted to managers had easily filled these positions. It was not fair to compare women new to the work with men of long experience. The women were drawn, moreover, from every class of workers, and many employers chose deliberately quite young girls in order not to pay the comparatively high rate of an adult woman. Lax time-keeping was referred again to the unaccustomed consciousness of a scarcity of female labour. The general opinion was that in large shops, where the work was subdivided, the women had come in to stay, although men would still be required on the heavier work and in posts of responsibility.

109. Clerical Work.—In *Finance and Banking* the proportion of females to all workpeople rose from 5 per cent. in July, 1914, to 42 per cent. in July, 1918, and the number by 65,000 women. The figures for *Railway Clerks* are given under Transport, but the effects of the war may be better described in this section. The new work to which the women were introduced included correspondence, delivery sheets, tracing missing goods, tracing particulars of goods for claims, accounts, ledger work, abstracts and invoices, work in the telegraph department, booking and parcels offices, and clerical work in engineering shops. The representatives of an important company stated that women typists and telegraphists were practically equal to male clerks of similar age and experience. They were not so valuable to the company, however, because of the greater use to which men could be put, including night and late turn of duty. In the accounts department, although the women's work was satisfactory, it took three women to do the work of two men, but this ratio might be

reduced by further training. The task of auditing booking office accounts had considerably increased, but this again was largely due to lack of experience on the part of the women keeping these accounts. The general opinion was that while women carried out the less important duties satisfactorily, they were not, as a body, equal to the men in the more important posts. Nor were the women offered the same training. Boys were examined annually for four years after entering the service and then had to pass a more severe examination, while girls were examined just once on entry. In the opinion of the Railway Clerks' Association, taking into account the increased volume and higher quality of the work, the women equalled the men where they had acquired experience and knowledge of method. In Bank and Insurance offices the women lacked in the same way the men's training. Although they reached a high standard of efficiency, and were as valuable as the men in their way, they were not given the men's full responsibilities. Some women, however, have risen well to the opportunities of promotion during the war. Time-keeping, although not so good as for men, is said to be better for women clerks than for industrial women, but the term of service is equally short.

110. National and Local Government.—In the *Civil Service*, the number of women increased in four years from 65,457 in July, 1914, to 222,788 in July, 1918. In the *Post Office* the number was doubled by an augmentation of 60,500. The proportion of women clerks, including counter clerks, had been much enlarged, as well as the proportion of women sorting clerks and telegraphists, and 20,000 post-women had been taken on. The women were thus employed on some duties entirely reserved for men before the war, and to a greater extent on late evening, night and very early morning duty, and also to a much greater extent on overtime and Sunday work. In the case of the woman counter clerk, the output, according to the Secretary to the Post Office, is nearly equal to the man's, except where there is great pressure of work, when the men are slightly better. The output of men and women telegraphists on ordinary instruments is practically equal. As sorters, the women are not so good, and as postwomen they carry two-sevenths of the weight given to the men. Representatives of the Federation of Post Office Supervisors told the Committee that as a general rule the women's service was less valuable than the men's. In manipulative duties involving physical strain, the quantity of work was inferior; in clerical work the quality was inferior; as supervisors their capacity for control was considerably below the men's; and in purely administrative work only women of exceptional abilities compared well with their male colleagues. But the women brought into the department during the war were obviously not comparable with the trained men. The Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association considered that men and women were equally suitable for most classes of Post Office work, but that women were not suited for heavy duties or overtime or night attendance. The employment of women during the war had increased the strain upon the men, by concentrating upon them the heavier and late duties. The strain on the women had also been considerably increased. The telegraph branch had not been greatly supplemented because it was difficult to train operators, and overtime had to be done instead. It was common ground that the difference between men's and women's wages in the Post Office was more than was justified by the difference in their output, or by the women's normal exemption from night duties or by her additional sick leave.

An interesting report dated October, 1918, received from the Director General of the *Ordnance Survey* gave the unanimous opinion of a small

Committee consisting of 3 women and 3 men members of his staff on various questions connected with the employment of women on the indoor work of the Ordnance Survey. It laid down certain employments such as colouring, mounting, folding and casing as essentially women's, and certain others such as zinc drawing and correcting, glass engraving, photo-writing, fine-etching, tracing, printing, book-binding and clerical work as suitable to men and women, and that generally a woman might be expected to do three-fourths of what a man did on the same work, that equal pay should be given for equal work and that the pay of women should therefore be about three-fourths that of men similarly employed.

In *Civil Departments* other than the Post Office the number of women rose from 4,600 in July, 1914, to 47,700 in July, 1918; in the *Service Departments* the number increased in the same time from 300 to 54,000. The women were employed generally as typists and clerks, and in junior administrative posts. The evidence of various bodies representing men and women clerks, or women clerks only, was in the direction of showing that the faults of the clerical woman war-worker, often carelessly selected and allocated to inappropriate duties, were due to want of training and practice, and not to any inherent inequality with male workers.

The only evidence heard by the Committee on the subject of women, numbering some 15,600, taken into the employment of *Local Government* authorities, other than in Municipal tramways, gas, water and electricity, or in education, was from the London County Council, whose representative stated that nearly all the women engaged during the war were employed on clerical routine work, and that it was most exceptional to find a woman doing the full work of a man. Many of the usual complaints about women—that they were insufficiently trained and less capable than men of sustained effort, and that they required more supervision from the point of view of work, and were less regular in their attendance than men, were received from the departments employing them, but it was mentioned that the Council did not engage women till after most of the better qualified had been taken into Government offices, and it was stated that the Council could probably use women's services to a greater extent after than they did before the war.

111. Teaching and other Professions.—The main fact with regard to the teaching profession in the war is that towards making good the loss of 22,000 men teachers, some 13,000 women were drawn into the service. The temporary displacement will probably accelerate the change in the proportion of the two sexes engaged which had been going on for some years before the war. The impossibility of allowing it to exceed certain limits in the interests of boys' education was emphasized by Sir Robert Blair, who gave evidence in the matter on behalf of the London County Council.

As an indirect result of the war and of the grant of the parliamentary suffrage to women some new professions are being opened to them. In January, 1918, the Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors obtained permission from the Chancery Court to alter their articles of association so as to permit of the admission of women as members. In March, 1918, a Bill to admit of women qualifying as Barristers and Solicitors passed the House of Lords.

112. Employment of Women in Men's Occupations.—From the foregoing examination of the evidence and returns submitted to the

Committee, it appears that the principal changes made by the war in the direction of introducing women into men's occupations have been:—

- (1) To bring or bring back women into manual labour and outdoor occupations, viz., agriculture, transport, chemical manufacture.
- (2) To admit women into skilled trades of an apprenticeship or "craft" character, *e.g.*, "all round" engineering and wood-working, and scientific instrument making.
- (3) To hasten the normal movement of women into "repetition" and routine processes of trades or other occupations, such as specialised engineering, wood-working, or clerical work.

These changes resulted from shortage of male labour, and were rendered possible by the patriotic enthusiasm of women and, in the case of the organised trades, by the relaxation of Trade Union restrictions.

(1) With *Manual Labour Trades* may be classed, in addition to the trades or processes involving mainly manual labour, some heavy machine processes; but, except on big construction or large dimension work, these form, owing to the adaptability of machinery and the economic advantage of labour-saving devices, an increasingly small part of industry. Substitution was not, on the whole, a success. The employment of women on heavy work before the war varied in different districts, but as a rule this work was as heavy as was economically sound. Where women were substituted on heavier work, either a reduction of loads, weights, size of tools, &c., was necessary, and this lessened the quantity of the individual workers' output, or, if there was no such reduction, the women were subjected to physical strain, or again there had to be a subdivision of labour, and the work was made more arduous for the remaining men. In these circumstances, with the return of the men and the present relatively high cost of female labour, women will be excluded from the heavier jobs in which they have been substituted for men. It is clear that the relation of women's to men's wages in the future should not be such as to encourage either employers to offer, or women to seek, employment in such jobs under conditions which will be prejudicial to them.

On the other hand, the success which women made of certain operations in agriculture, and the fact that they did perform much outdoor work under abnormally arduous conditions, *e.g.*, omnibus conductors' work, without being injuriously affected, make it important in their interests that they should not be excluded from such work provided they have wages that will keep them in the healthy physical condition it requires.

(2) In *Skilled Trades* are included all trades for which is required a long technical training or wide expert experience. The emergency of the war gave little or no opportunity for such long preparation. Nor is a large outlay on training or experience likely to be made by the employer or worker, even in normal times, so long as the average woman expects to leave her trade on marriage. On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that the highly skilled trade merges in the profession, and marriage prospects have not deterred women from undergoing the training required for the principal professions open to them. However this may be, in industry proper part of a skilled man's work was shown by the war to be well within the power of a woman to learn in a short time, and to practice efficiently. Substitution on these lines comes, however, under the third category.

(3) In "*repetition*" process and routine trades are included all trades and processes of a "repetition" and routine character not involving severe manual labour, and also skilled trades of a specialised

character or for which is required no long technical training or wide expert experience. These trades form an increasingly large body of industry, and include the majority of substituted women. Substitution was, on the whole, a success. The evidence given by witnesses as to the comparative productive value of men and women is summarised in the following paragraphs.

113. Comparison between Women's and Men's Work.

Output.—The women excel in delicate and refined manipulation, and tolerate better than the men the monotony of a repetition job. They show some defects of inaccuracy and overhaste, and are more careless than the men of their machines or tools, but the evidence in this respect refers largely to munition workers, including all sorts of inexperienced women working at exceptionally high pressure. These defects are not remarked among women cotton-weavers, and in some munition factories the quality of work steadily improved with time until the percentage of waste or "scrap" was almost "infinitesimal." On long shifts or night-work, the women are at some disadvantage and tire sooner than the men, and repetition work, like labouring work, becomes unsuited to women when it gets beyond the limits of their physical strength. There was no evidence to show that within these limits women were injured by work in which their output might be less than that of men.

114. Cost.—The extra cost of female labour was generally referred by employers to the following causes:—

- (a) High proportionate overhead charges due to reduced output of individual workers. On light repetition or routine work, where the women equal or beat the men in output this case does not arise, and various instances emerged from the evidence in which the employment of women was apparently advantageous at equal piece rates with the men, though their average earnings were less. Where, however, the number of women is greater than the number of men required to do the same amount of work, the extra cost entailed by the additional accommodation and plant may well be such as to render the employment of women uneconomical even at wages proportionate to their output.
- (b) High cost of supervision. In munition factories, where the women came from all classes of inexperienced workers, the extra cost is variously estimated at 30 and 50 per cent., but the actual sum involved is comparatively small. This extra cost is ignored in the cotton industry, although the women are less able than the men to "tune" or repair their machines.
- (c) Cost of welfare. The cost of supervision is again comparatively small, or one welfare supervisor to about 500 women, and said moreover to repay itself, so that some employers foresee an extension of the same system to men and boys. In munition factories, exceptional expenses have been incurred in connection with first-aid, canteens, cloak rooms and other accommodation, &c., but these are largely referred to the special circumstances of the war, and the claims of the workers and the interests and desires of good employers are alike in the direction of improving in these matters the conditions of men's employment.

- (d) Cost of separate accommodation. Apart from separate sanitary accommodation, some difficulties are discovered in employing men and women together in the same workshop, but these are generally confined to trades where the custom is a new one.
- (e) Cost of special mechanical appliances, cranes, &c., or assistance of labourers. In connection with this cost it has to be borne in mind that the reduction of heavy manual labour by provision of mechanical appliances is usually remunerative to the employer even where only male labour is involved.

115. Time-Keeping.—The women have lost time in munition factories, but the men have lost time as well. The defect of the women was variously attributed to too rapid advances of wages and too long hours of work, but was substantially reduced by a change from a 12 hour to an 8 hour shift. In normal times, bad time-keeping among women is mainly referred to married women, and attributed to domestic duties. Among cotton-weavers, where the woman affords herself domestic assistance and adopts the custom of the "sick worker," to take her place at the time of temporary sickness or domestic emergency, bad time-keeping is not remarked.

116. Length of Service.—The women's term of service is short and generally estimated at not more than an average of four or five years, but a long experience is not necessarily an advantage on "repetition" or routine work. The women's superior tolerance of monotony has at least some connection with the prospect of escape from industry at marriage.

The women have to some extent other qualities than the men, but even on light repetition or routine work, the balance is as evenly held as between ordinary workers of the same sex, and the same will be the case on somewhat heavier work with the rise in the woman's standard of living and shortening of the working-day. According to employers' statements, at the present time there is, if anything, an advantage in employing women rather than men at cotton-weaving where they get the same piece rates; in the rather heavier woollen weaving where their piece rates are 10 per cent. less than the men's, it is a matter of indifference to the employers whether men or women are at the looms; while in engineering, they say that payment to the women of more than two-thirds of the men's wages would lead them at once to prefer boys or men. Generally it may be said that substitution during the war has discovered new supplies of labour, and opened to women new and desirable fields of employment. It remains to be seen whether peace production can be organised to take full advantage of these factors without injuriously affecting the employment of men.

117. Employment of Women in Women's Occupations.—The call on women's labour to replace that of men shortened the supply, in women's own occupations, with the effect of bringing into employment unoccupied women of the middle classes, of bringing back married women who had retired from their trades, and of promoting girls on to women's work.

The *Middle Class Women* were engaged largely in munition work where the advantages of education brought them into skilled processes or to supervisory positions, or made them specially efficient in the less skilled work. They were also employed in Government Offices, at first mainly as junior clerks, but were later promoted to supervising or to higher duties. Middle class women were also helpful in securing a

Sunday rest for the ordinary workers in factories, and in many cases by seeing that improvements were made in the conditions of their work. While the continuance of these women in industry, provided that they did not work for pocket money wages, would have been an advantage, they will necessarily have left it in the time of unemployment that has followed the Armistice. They are not likely largely to affect the problem of women in industry in the near future.

There are no data for calculating the extent to which *Married Women* entered or re-entered into occupation. Many soldiers' wives who found separation allowances insufficient to meet their needs went into munition works. Women returned to trades such as textiles, pottery and the boot trade at Leicester, in which they had acquired skill before marriage, and evidence was given indicative of their being many married women in the food trades. They showed less aversion than young unmarried women to men's dirty work in foundries. In the Civil Service, the rule as to retirement on marriage was not applied to the large number of temporary women clerks, and married women were in some cases taken back to work in the teaching profession. The desirability of the extended employment of married women in the future is discussed further on in this report. During the war this employment was to the immediate advantage of the State. As regards the women themselves the fatigue and overstrain observed were usually much more marked in the case of married women with children than in the case of single women. In some instances, special arrangements, referred to in Dr. Janet Campbell's memorandum, were made for the continuance at light work of expectant mothers, and in others for facilitating the care of their infants. It was a common experience of witnesses that the married women showed to disadvantage in the matter of time-keeping and continuity of work, and this was thought to militate against their employment in normal times. A fact arising out of the war which has to be borne in mind in connection with the future, is that 200,000 soldiers' and sailors' widows, of whom nearly a quarter are without children, will be drawing about £11,000,000 a year in pensions, part of which may become a subsidy to industry unless steps are taken to prevent this.

The war accelerated the increase in the employment of *Girls* under 18. Between April, 1911, and July, 1914, the number in all occupations, not taking into account domestic service, had gone up from 558,659 to 676,000. Between July, 1914, and January, 1918, there was a further net increase of 248,000 made up of 94,000 in industry proper—mainly in the metal and chemical trades and including those in Government establishments—and 154,000 in other occupations, chiefly clerical and commercial. "The increase in the number of girls is in part accounted for by the entry into factories or offices of those who would normally have been in domestic service. Allowing for this, however, the additional number of workers drawn from girls previously employed at home, and from the premature cessation of school attendance has been considerable. In particular, there has been an increase in the number both of partial and complete exemptions."* This means that many girls have entered occupations when under 14. "There appears to have been a diminution in the number of boys employed as errand boys in connection with shops, and an increase in the number of girls. The former have entered more remunerative and heavier employment in industry. The latter have to some extent taken their place." Generally it would seem that "while

* This and the immediately following quotations are from the Report of an Enquiry into "Juvenile Employment during the war and after" issued by the Ministry of Reconstruction in November, 1918.

boys have, in the main, followed the call of expanding industries, large numbers of girls have felt the reaction of the economic changes caused by the war at second hand. They have not only entered expanding industries, but they have also helped to carry on those the male staff of which was depleted." The work of girls, as also of boys, has been largely uneducative. They have been much more often repetition workers at high piece work prices than learners at low wages. The scant training will militate against the advantageous future employment of the youthful war workers, especially the girls, of whom a greater proportion than of the boys are being discharged as a result of the cessation of war industries. A considerable addition to the number of unskilled women workers arising from the taking into industry and other occupations of these young girls during the war would tend to keep down women's wages, an evil which should be mitigated by the training of these girls as domestic servants and otherwise as has been recommended by various Committees.

118. Effect of Employment on Women's Health.—The health of industrially employed women has been subject to more effective supervision during the war than in any previous period. Very little investigation was made before 1914 into the results of employment on the health of women workers. It is difficult to distinguish the precise effects of an occupation from the effects of the social condition and environment, especially when, as frequently happens in the case of women, the worker is only employed for a few years in the early part of adult life. The operation of the National Health Insurance Act revealed an unexpectedly heavy incidence of major and minor sickness among girls and young women, much of which could be attributed to unsatisfactory forms of employment and to low wages which prevented a reasonably good standard of living.

During the war, although in some respects (long hours, night work, &c.), conditions of employment have been less satisfactory than before, in other directions there has been considerable improvement. The higher wages have led to better nutrition and greater comfort, the attention to health and welfare in the factories has prevented or diminished much avoidable sickness, and the nature of the work has often been such as to stimulate interest and improve the general health and physical capacity. Special investigations by the Health of Munition Workers Committee indicated that overstrain and fatigue were less widespread and disastrous than had been anticipated, and the relatively satisfactory findings were attributed to the increased attention given to hygiene in the factory and the direct and indirect results of good wages. At the same time, it is undoubted that a considerable amount of fatigue and sickness has occurred, and the significant increase in the death-rate from tuberculosis among urban women which has been observed during the war suggests that even under reasonably good conditions of service new dangers to health may arise from increased industrialisation of women. It has also been shown repeatedly that, as would be expected, the physical strain of factory work is greatest among married women with children and domestic responsibilities. Properly nourished women, however, have certainly a greater reserve of energy than they have been credited with, and they can properly and advantageously be employed upon more varied and arduous occupations than has been considered desirable in the past, even when such work involves considerable activity, physical strain, or exposure to weather.

119. Relaxation of State Restrictions in Employment of Women.—Brief reference may now be made to the Relaxation of State

and Trade Union Restrictions on the employment of women which allowed them to enter so extensively into industry during the war with the large effects that have been summarised. Under a section of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, which allows the Home Office in cases of any public emergency to exempt from the Act any factory or workshop in which Government work is being carried out, relaxation of the restrictions with regard to the hours of employment, overtime, night work and Sunday labour, of protected persons was allowed by general orders which set out the conditions under which women and young persons might ordinarily be employed in munition works, and by special orders which authorised variations of the general orders in particular cases. At a very early stage of the war the restrictions on hours of employment and overtime were widely relaxed. About 50 orders allowing the employment on Sundays of women and girls had been issued by the autumn of 1915. Night work for women and girls was extensively resorted to. After two years of war much of this relaxation was found to be uneconomical and baneful, and in September, 1916, the Home Office issued a general order, based upon the recommendations of the Health of Munition Workers Committee, by which the employment of women was limited to the 60 hours a week permitted under the Factory and Workshop Act, though within this limit night work was allowed, and work for not more than 14 hours (including mealtimes) instead of 12 on any one day. The employment at night of girls between 16 and 18 was only allowed in special circumstances, and of girls under 16 not at all. Sunday work was largely reduced for both sexes by instructions from the Ministry of Munitions, issued in April, 1917. In the last two years of the war, other steps were taken by the Home Office and the Ministry of Munitions to reduce hours and Sunday work in the interests not only of the protected persons, but also of production. On the whole, the protection in normal circumstances given to women and young persons by the provisions of the Factory and Workshop Acts, had amply justified itself by the unsatisfactory results of the relaxation which was to some extent necessary under the stress of war conditions.

120. Relaxation of Trade Union Restrictions in Employment of Women.—The additional number of women employed in industry proper at the end of the war was not far short of the number that were directly replacing men. The arrangements by which the substitution of women for men were allowed by the Trade Unions were thus of vast importance in securing the necessary war output. The Engineering Unions, whose rules prohibited female labour, were chiefly concerned. At first, the women were confined to simple automatic operations, or merely replaced boys and youths up-graded to work of higher quality. In November, 1914, an agreement was drawn up between the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Engineering Employers' Federation, known as the "Crayford Agreement," relating to the establishment of Messrs. Vickers, which provided that female labour should be restricted to purely automatic machines used for the production of repetition work, and that all such automatic machines should be set up by fully-skilled mechanics. In February, 1915, the Committee on Production in Engineering and Shipbuilding Establishments, appointed to enquire and report as to the best means of making fully available the productive power of the workers, made a strong suggestion to employers and workpeople that female labour should be further utilised under proper and suitable conditions, on the production of shells and fuzes, and accordingly, on the 5th March, 1915

Engineering Employers' Federation, and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers made an agreement known as the "Shells and Fuzes Agreement." This provided that semi-skilled and female labour might be admitted to operations on which skilled men were at present employed, subject to their being paid "the usual rates of the district obtaining for the operations performed." A fortnight later, the Treasury Agreement, discussed in Part III. of this Report, was concluded. This agreement formed the basis not only of the Munitions of War Act, but of subsequent private agreements between employers and trade unions. These agreements were common in organised trades, and the women were admitted under certain conditions of wages and restoration. The following clauses were typical—"The employment of females is desired only to help the country in its perilous conditions, and no man shall be any worse off through the employment of females"; "Immediately on the termination of the war the further employment of more females in the mule spinning rooms shall cease, pending another joint meeting of the two Committees which shall determine the continuance and otherwise of such female labour"; "That where women in consequence of this Agreement are employed to take the place of men, such women shall not continue to be employed after men become available." Some agreements included provisions restricting the women to occupations suitable or supposed to be suitable to female labour, or laying down rules protecting women from undue physical strain, heavy weights, heat, fumes, &c., and in one or two cases the terms limited the number of women to be employed. Most of them dealt with the question of wages.

CHAPTER IV

WOMEN'S WAGES DURING THE WAR.

121. Early steps in Regulation of Wages.—For the first nine months of the war no steps were taken by the State to regulate wages. The Government purchasing Departments continued to observe the pre-war practice of buying in the cheapest market subject to the provisions of the Fair Wages Clause. The employing Departments continued to engage labour at the district rates subject to certain traditional privileges attaching to Government service. In the period of unemployment covered by these months, to which reference has already been made, large sums were collected under the auspices of the Prince of Wales for the relief of the unemployed, and the National Relief Fund Committee fixed model scales of relief providing 10*s.* per week for a single adult in London, and 8*s.* outside London, with 4*s.* 6*d.* for each additional adult rising to a maximum for one household of 20*s.* in London and 18*s.* outside. For women in particular, the Queen's Work for Women Fund was inaugurated to relieve the distress arising from unemployment. This body undertook contracts for the War Office for such work as the making of shirts, body belts and socks at trade prices, and the workers were to be paid the rates of remuneration usual in women's trades, that is, mainly by piece. The Committee subsequently fixed a minimum time rate of 3*d.* per hour on the basis of the Trade Board Minimum, and a maximum wage of 10*s.* a week, shortly afterwards raised to 11*s.* 6*d.* It was felt undesirable to fix wages either so high as to attract from ordinary employment or else so low as to fall below the barest subsistence level.

122. Regulation of Wages in Munition Trades.—Meanwhile, some employers in the munitions trades had already begun to extend the sphere of female labour, not without opposition from the men's unions. Some recruited this labour at the usual rates of the district, generally from $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $4d.$ an hour on scales for age as was customary in the case of boys; others entered into individual agreements with Trade Unions. Then came the Treasury Agreement of March 19th, 1915,* which specifically provided, under certain safeguards to the men's rates, for the admission of female labour, and the Munitions of War Act, passed on July 2nd, which applied this agreement to establishments controlled by the Ministry of Munitions. This Ministry which had come into being in June, acted in relation to the regulation of women's wages upon the assumption that the Treasury Agreement only implied equality of piece rates, but from the first, Mr. Lloyd George intended, as he promised to Mrs. Pankhurst in July, that there should be no sweated labour on munitions; that there should be fair wages and a fixed minimum, and that the Government would not utilise the services of women in order to obtain cheap labour. Mr. Lloyd George said that as for some time women would be unskilled and untrained, they could not be expected to turn out as much work as the men who had been at it for some time, so they could not expect to receive the full time rates.

123. Women on Men's Work. Ministry of Munitions Circular L.2.—On September 20th, 1915, the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee was formed of representatives of the Ministry, employers and workpeople, to assist in regard to transference and utilisation of skilled labour. They created a small Wages Sub-Committee which consisted of Miss Mary Macarthur of the National Federation of Women Workers, and three representatives of the engineering trade. This Sub-Committee drafted to suit the conditions of that trade the document known as L.2,† containing recommendations relating to the employment and remuneration of women on work of a class which prior to the war was not recognised as women's work in districts where such work was customarily carried on. The question whether a woman was employed on man's work or woman's work was to be determined by the practice of the main centre of the industry. Hence, the production of shells was ruled to be men's work, although women had occasionally machined the smaller natures in some districts; while fuzes, cartridge cases and other brass components of ammunition were ruled to be women's work in accordance with Birmingham practice, although male labour had been exclusively employed on them at Woolwich Arsenal. The original draft of the Wages Sub-Committee of the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee provided a *minimum* time rate of £1 a week, but Dr. Addison, then Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, suggested that it would be more useful to contractors to recommend a specific time rate for the new classes of female labour being experimentally introduced to munitions work, and accordingly Clause 1 of L.2. read as follows:—

“Women of 18 years of age and over employed on time, on work customarily done by men, shall be rated at £1 per week, reckoned on the usual working hours of the district in question for men in the engineering establishments. This, however, shall not apply in the case of women employed on work customarily done by fully skilled tradesmen in which case the women shall be paid the time rates of the tradesmen whose work they undertake.”

* Appendix IV. A.

† Appendix IV. B (i.).

Clause 4 of the same document prescribed that—

“Where women are employed on piece work, they shall be paid the same piece-work prices as are customarily paid to men for the job,”

and explains further in Clause 8—

“The principle upon which the recommendations proceed is that on systems of payment by results equal payments shall be made to women as to the men for an equal amount of work done.”

Clause 13 provided that—

“Piece work prices and premium bonus time allowances, after they have been established, shall not be altered unless the means or method of manufacture are changed.”

This Circular was sent in October, 1915, as an *instruction* to all National Factories, and issued as a *recommendation* to all controlled establishments. Similar recommendations for the payment of women in filling factories, and for the payment of girls on men's work, and women and girls on work not recognised as men's work were also drafted by the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee in November and December, 1915, but were not generally issued by the Department. So far the employment of women on munitions was tentative and experimental, and the actual extent of its future development quite unsuspected.

During this period the process of dilution was making slow headway. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers made it a condition of their assistance in promoting dilution, that the Ministry should make the terms of Circular L.2. compulsory upon all controlled establishments. With this in view the Munitions of War (Amendment) Act, 1916, passed on January 27th of that year, gave the Ministry power, by its Section 6, to give directions as to the rate of wages, hours of labour (subject to the provisions of the Factory Acts, or the concurrence of the Home Office), or conditions of employment of female workers employed on, or in connection with, munitions work in any establishment subject to the terms of Section 7 of the principal Act. This was the section that limited the freedom of workpeople to withdraw their labour when employed in munition factories. Armed with these powers the Minister issued Circular L.2. as a Statutory Order on February 28th, 1916, to all firms then on the list of controlled establishments in Great Britain. In issuing this Order so extensively, it subsequently appeared that the Department was going beyond the scope of its powers under the Act, but this difficulty was removed by the application of Section 7 of the principal Act to all controlled establishments. As, however, Circular L.2. was primarily designed for the conditions of the engineering and allied trades, and was not considered suited to the conditions of continuous process work, the order was not issued to firms engaged in such trades as chemicals, nor, for other reasons, to oil and seed, asbestos, rubber, optical and scientific instrument making, or wood-working.

In March, 1916, in pursuance of his powers under Section 8 of the Amendment Act, the Minister constituted the Special Arbitration Tribunal to deal with questions arising out of the employment of women on munitions work. This Tribunal had two functions:—

- (1) To act as an Arbitration Tribunal to which the Ministry of Labour might refer differences under Part I of the Munitions of War Act;
- (2) To advise the Minister of Munitions on the exercise of his powers to give directions regarding women's wages.

124. Women on Women's Work.—Wages for women and girls employed on work not recognised as men's work, that is on work of a class previously done by women and girls or by boys, lads and youths, were not yet regulated by any Statutory Order. An important agreement, which was intended to remain in force and unaltered during the war, was made on the 16th November, 1915, between the Midland Employers' Federation and the Workers' Union, with reference to the wages of female munition workers not covered by L.2. in the Birmingham area. This raised the rates for age above those of the 1913 agreement, quoted in Chapter II, in the following manner:—

Age.	Day Rate.		per week.
	July 7th,	October 16th,	
	1913.	1915.	
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	
14 years	6 0	7 0	
15 "	6 6	8 0	"
16 "	7 0	9 0	"
17 "	8 0	11 0	"
18 "	9 0	13 0	"
19 "	10 0	14 0	"
20 "	11 0	15 0	"
21 "	12 0	16 0	"

All War Bonuses were to merge in these rates. Where they did not give to the day worker any advance, it was agreed that an increase equal to that recently given to boys and youths should be granted to such women, to be regarded as a war wage and to include all recent advances, viz.:—

	<i>s. d.</i>
Under 17 years	1 0
17 and under 19	1 6
19 and over	2 0

No general advances were given on piece-work prices. It was understood that the Munitions Act did not permit of any restrictions of earnings or output, but in the fixing of a piece price it was expected that the price would yield not less than 25 per cent. on day rates to a competent worker.

A further agreement between the same parties, dated May 16th, 1916, related to women and girls employed in the Black Country upon all classes of work, whether for the purposes of war, civil or domestic use, whether for the Government direct or for other contractors, and whether for this country or abroad. Presumably in compensation for the extension of its scope to non-munition workers, the schedule of rates is 1*s.* lower than the Birmingham Area Schedule almost throughout. The length of week is not stated in the agreement but, assuming a 53 hour week, the hourly rate provided for the Black Country in this agreement is 2½*d.*

125. Order 447 of 1916.—Outside the Midland Area, wages for women and girls employed upon work previously done by boys and youths were constantly referred as a difference to the Special Arbitration Tribunal and the general form of their awards was a guaranteed rate of 4½*d.* per hour to time workers of 18 and over, and 4*d.* an hour to piece-workers and premium bonus workers, both scales grading downwards for girls by ½*d.* per hour for each year of age, so that time workers of 15 and under received 3*d.* an hour. On the 6th July, 1916, in accordance with the Tribunal's recommendations, the Department issued No. 447 of the

Statutory Rules and Orders of 1916, prescribing generally these rates for women and girls on munition work not recognised as men's work. An addition of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour was to be paid to women and girls in danger zones, with allowances for other processes dangerous or injurious to health, to be decided on the merits of such cases. Another clause of this Order, which was in reality a striking innovation upon the customary method of remuneration for women, prescribed that the time rate should be guaranteed to all women piece-workers. Many employers urged that such a provision would have disastrous effects upon output, and it was probably for this reason that the time rate of piece workers was prescribed on a lower scale than that of time workers. The general effect of the Order was substantially to increase the current rates for women in establishments which had always employed female labour. It also applied to the very numerous cases in which women and girls replaced boys and youths—at first the commonest method of dilution. The boys and apprentices were moved up to do the easier work of the skilled men and the girls came in to replace the boys and youths. In many cases employers pointed out that only a part of their establishment was engaged on munitions work, that it was difficult or impossible to discriminate, and that the payment of such comparatively high rates on private work would have the most serious consequences especially upon their foreign trade in competition with America and Japan. Many of the controlled establishments also complained that they were being penalised in competition with non-controlled establishments in the same trade and industry, which still continued rates as much as $2d.$ an hour lower according to previous custom. Order 447 in fact aroused considerably more opposition from employers than Circular L.2. A frequent ground of employers' criticism against the Orders was their rigidity. Employers urged that female labour was of very little service for some months and pleaded for a lower probationary rate, or a scale rising with experience and merit.

Order 447 was applied to about 1,400 establishments, including those engaged on the manufacture of armaments and munitions, ordnance and explosives, shipbuilding and the various branches of mechanical engineering. It was not applied in the case of a few establishments situated in rural districts. In August, 1916, the Department proposed to extend the scope of this Order, and issued a Circular to all controlled establishments which had not already received it, intimating that it would be applied to them unless within a short time they were able to show exceptional reasons to the contrary. A very large number of establishments made representations on the subject, and these were classified and submitted to the Special Arbitration Tribunal, with a reference asking for their advice. After mature consideration the Tribunal ultimately recommended, on December 12th, that Order 447 should be applied, with certain modifications, to the following additional trades:—

- (1) Electric and telegraph engineering and the manufacture of electric and telegraphic accessories.
- (2) Wire rope and cables and hemp rope.
- (3) Tubes.
- (4) Iron and steel works.
- (5) Iron and brass foundries, lead and copper works.
- (6) Scientific and optical instruments.
- (7) Sundry explosives works.
- (8) Rubber.
- (9) Asbestos.
- (10) Chemicals.
- (11) Mica.

126. Orders 9 and 10 of 1917.—The Tribunal's recommendations and the modifications in the Order proposed by them were accepted, and, as a result, Orders 9 and 10 of 1917 were issued on the 6th January, 1917. The Tribunal had proposed that there should be a reduction of the rates by $\frac{1}{4}d.$ or $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour in certain rural areas, and actually 50 establishments so situated were selected for the application of Order 10, which prescribed rates $\frac{1}{4}d.$ less per hour than those of Order 9.

127. Girls on Men's Work. Order 456 of 1916.—At the same time as Order 447 was issued, the Department also issued Order 456, dealing with the wages of girls on men's work, and prescribing rates less than those of L.2. by 2s. per week for each year of age, so that girls under 16 employed on time, received 14s. per full week. This Order was naturally of very limited application.

128. Women on Aircraft Woodwork. Order 621 of 1916.—Simultaneously, the Department was considering the rates to be paid to women employed on woodwork processes in the manufacture of aircraft. This manufacture was, prior to the war, in a purely experimental stage, and it was now developing as an important industry. Processes entrusted in the experimental stages to skilled joiners, cabinet makers and wood-cutting machinists were now sub-divided and simplified by the provision of jigs. The Department felt some diffidence in giving any directions which might hamper the normal development of the trade. The question was, accordingly, referred to the Tribunal for advice, and ultimately Order 621 was issued, with effect from October 2nd, 1916, prescribing rates generally $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour higher than those in Order 447, and approximating to those in Circular L.2. Higher rates were fixed for women employed on machine processes, with a provision that no girl under 18 should be so employed.

129. Women on Men's Work. Order 888 of 1916.—About the same period, also, it became increasingly apparent that Circular L.2., which had always been of a provisional character, would require some modification in the light of experience. The Department had not regarded the 20s. rate as a permanent rate for women employed on shell work. They had always pressed that systems of payment by result should be introduced as soon as the women were sufficiently qualified. Though the women on men's work were still beginners, some of them had now attained full productive value. Some employers, however, tended to keep women working on time rates far longer than was necessary. Moreover, the original circular did not admit of any rate between £1 a week and the rate of the fully skilled tradesman. Accordingly, the Minister referred to the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee, as the authors of the original Circular L.2. for advice as to whether he should make any modification in the Order. That Committee submitted certain recommendations which were transmitted to the Special Arbitration Tribunal for their observations. Recommendations accepted by both bodies eventually came to the Minister and were embodied in a new Order 888, dated the 21st December, 1916.

130. Women on part of Men's Work. Order 49 of 1917.—Order 888 did not, however, deal with the question of women employed on part or portion of a fully skilled tradesman's work, which had become increasingly acute on the Clyde and Tyne and elsewhere. It was very rarely that employers were able to employ women on the full duties of any skilled tradesman. The tendency of dilution was rather to sub-divide the processes involved in the work of a skilled man, and to assign the portion so divided to women specially trained for a single sub-divided

operation. Employers were not willing to pay the full fitter's or turner's rate of the district to women so employed, partly on the simple ground that they were not worth it, at any rate, until they had gained experience, and partly because it was calculated to create jealousy on the part of other women employed on work of a no less difficult or laborious character. Nor did the workmen always appreciate the presence of women in their shops earning as much money as themselves. The process of dilution was, therefore, almost at a standstill, and it became necessary to find some compromise. Such a compromise had been arranged by the Dilution Commissioners on the Clyde and the Tyne, and their provisional arrangement was now embodied in the new Order 49, of the 24th January, 1917. This Order followed Order 888 in prescribing in paragraph 1 (a) (i) a minimum rate of £1 for women employed on time, where the working week was 48 hours or less. Where the working week exceeded 48 hours additional payment was to be made at the rate of 6d. per hour up to 54 hours, beyond which overtime was payable. The important new clauses were the following:—

- (a) (ii) Women employed on time, (a) on work of a class customarily done by semi-skilled men, or (b) on work of a specially laborious or responsible nature, or (c) where special circumstances exist shall be paid according to the nature of the work and the ability of the women, but in no case less than the time-rates specified in paragraph 1 (a) (i).

- (b) (i) Women employed on the work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen shall, in all cases, be paid as from commencement the time-rates of the tradesmen whose work they undertake.

- (b) (ii) A woman shall be considered as not employed on the work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen, but a part or portion only thereof if she does not do the customary setting up or when there is no setting up, if she requires skilled supervision to a degree beyond that customarily required by fully-skilled tradesmen undertaking the work in question.

- (b) (iii) Women who undertake part or portion only of the work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen shall serve a probationary period of three months. The wages of such women for this period shall be reckoned as follows:—

They shall be rated for a period of four weeks at the time-rate of wages to which they are entitled under these directions when employed on time, and from that rate shall then rise from the beginning of the fifth week until the end of the thirteenth week by equal weekly increases to the district time-rate of the fully-skilled tradesman, and they shall thereafter be rated at the district rate of the tradesman whose work they are in part or portion undertaking.

- (b) (iv) In any case where it is established to the satisfaction of the Minister that additional cost is being incurred by extra setting up or skilled supervision due to the employment of women in place of fully-skilled tradesmen, the rates payable to women under these directions may, with the sanction of the Minister, be subject, for so long as such additional cost is incurred, to deductions not exceeding 10 per cent. to meet such additional cost: Provided that no women shall in any case be paid at lower rates than those prescribed by paragraph 1 (a) (i) of these directions.

- (b) (v) No woman shall be called upon to serve more than one probationary period.
- (b) (vi) Every woman who has served the probationary period shall receive from her employer a certificate to that effect.
- (b) (vii) Any time immediately before the date on which these directions take effect during which a woman has been employed on part or portion of the work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen, shall be reckoned in diminution or extinction, as the case may be, of the probationary period prescribed by these directions.

The system of probation thus instituted for women undertaking part of the fully-skilled tradesmen's work had been accepted in principle by the Trade Unions in their negotiations with the Clyde Dilution Commissioners. The provision that an employer might deduct an amount up to 10 per cent., with the sanction of the Minister, to cover any extra cost of supervision entailed by the employment of women in place of men, was a new feature.

131. Women on General Woodwork. Order 313 of 1917.—On March 30th, 1917, Order 313 gave interim directions for the payment of women and girls on general woodwork (other than aircraft). It stated that after eight weeks of such employment they were to receive as hourly rates, 6*d.* for women of 18 years and over, 5*d.* for girls of 17, 4*d.* for girls of 16, 3½*d.* for girls of 15, and 3*d.* for girls under 15. The temporary character of this Order was due to the difficulty which the Special Arbitration Tribunal experienced in classifying the woodwork processes. The majority of the women or girls paid under this Order appear to have been employed in the making and repairing of packing cases and ammunition boxes.

132. War Advances to Men and to Women on fully skilled Men's Work up to March, 1917.—The system of regulation by Statutory Orders had now taken shape and in the succeeding period attention was directed mainly to the provision of advances to assist in meeting the increased cost of living. The Board of Trade Labour Gazette showed that the cost of living had increased by 70 per cent. by the end of March, 1917. The increased cost of living and, possibly also, the fact that many firms engaged on munition work were in spite of Excess Profits Duty and the Munitions Levy publishing figures of greatly increased dividends, had occasioned claims to increase of wages from men. Already in 1915, the Committee on Production began to issue awards on such claims. At first these awards were local. On the 23rd March the Committee on Production awarded to skilled engineers in the Clyde District an advance of 1*d.* an hour or 4*s.* per week (according to the custom of payment in the various shops) on time rates and 10 per cent. on piece rates to come into operation as from the beginning of the first full pay week after February 12th and "to be regarded as war wages and recognised as to due to and dependent on the existence of the abnormal conditions then prevailing in consequence of the war," and this was followed by similar awards in most of the manufacturing districts (Manchester District, 3*s.* per week on time rates from March 8th, Burnley and Nottingham Districts, 3*s.* per week on time rates from May 22nd). Sometimes similar advances were conceded by agreement. In many other cases employers merely gave a "war bonus," it being understood that a war bonus did not increase the time rates for the purpose of calculating overtime and night work allowances. The

term "bonus" implied something voluntary and temporary as contrasted with a "rate advance." The "war wage advance" was intended as a compromise between the two. Matters had proceeded thus on local and sectional lines until in February, 1917, the Engineering Employers' Federation and the principal Trade Unions interested in the Engineering Trade arrived at an agreement to the effect that the existing practice of dealing with the general alterations in wages by means of local and central conferences should be suspended for the period of the war, and that during such period of suspension the Committee on Production should in the months of February, June and October, after hearing the parties, consider what general alteration in wages, if any, was warranted by the abnormal conditions then existing and due to the war. The parties added a memorandum recommending the Government to make arrangements whereby all employers in the trade or trades affected should be subject to the awards which might be made by the Committee on Production. A similar procedure was adopted in the Shipbuilding, Chemical and some other Trades and in the engineering departments of the Railways. The first award by the Committee to the Engineering Trade under this system gave, as from the 1st April, 1917, an advance of 5s. weekly to men and 2s. 6d. to boys, but also provided for the standardisation of all previous advances or war wages to the level of 7s. per week above pre-war rates, which was the figure actually attained by war advances in the principal manufacturing centres. Thus all male workmen of 18 years and upwards who were employed on time in the Engineering Trade had now received war wage advances amounting to 12s. per week above their pre-war rates, whether they were in the skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled classes. These war wages were to be taken into account in calculating overtime, night allowances and Sunday or holiday allowances but were "not otherwise to apply to or affect the existing time rates." The majority of employers kept the war wages distinct from the rate on their time cards and pay slips.

133. War Advances to Women. Order 489 of 1917.—Up to this date the women employed upon the work of fully skilled men had normally received the time rates with the war additions. The Ministry were, however, now advised that the clause in the Committee on Production's Award which specified that these cost-of-living advances were "not otherwise to apply to or affect present time rates, premium bonus rates or piece-work prices and not to be taken into account as part of the time rates for fixing new piece-work prices" precluded women from receiving such advances under the clause of the Statutory Order which stated that women employed on skilled men's work should receive the "time rates" of the tradesmen whose work they undertook. Other women on munitions work had received no actual increase of time rate or war bonus although many of them had benefited to the extent of perhaps 2s. 6d. a week by the provision first issued in Order 888 of 1916 that 20s. should be the minimum for a 48 hour week and not, as heretofore, the standard rate for the working hours of the district, which, in the Engineering Trades, were in most districts 53 or 54. In March, 1917, the Minister referred to the Arbitration Tribunal for advice as to whether he should make any increase in the wages of women and girls under the various Statutory Orders, and, in accordance with the recommendations of the Tribunal, Circular L. 85 was issued directing Controlled Establishments to advance the wages of women on men's work by 4s. on the basis rate payable under Order 49, and in the case of women and girls on work not recognised as men's work to add 1d. to the hourly rates prescribed for women of 18 and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to those for girls of 17 when employed on time; women were to have $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and girls of 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. added to

their guaranteed time rate when employed on piece work or premium bonus. Women and girls on woodwork for aircraft and girls on men's work were similarly treated. The advances were to date from April 8th. Accordingly, the rates of the next Statutory Order for women on men's work—489, dated the 16th April, 1917—prescribed the following minimum rates:—"Where the working week is 48 hours, 24s., where the working week is less than 48 hours, 24s. for the working week and for additional hours, if any, worked up to 48; where the working week exceeds 48 hours, as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
For 49 hours	1	4	6
For 50 hours	1	5	0
For 51 hours	1	5	6
For 52 hours	1	6	0
For 53 hours	1	6	6
For 54 hours	1	7	0."

6d. an hour was the final *time rate* for women on men's work.

134. **Order 781 of 1917.**—Further advances were given in the form of war wages. In August, 1917, at their next four-monthly review the Committee on Production awarded 3s. to men, 1s. 6d. to boys, on the same terms as before. Thereupon the question of women's advances was again referred to the Special Arbitration Tribunal, and they recommended an overhead bonus of 2s. 6d. for women and 1s. 3d. for girls, to be paid by all Controlled Establishments to all female munitions workers, whether on time or any other system of payment. Order 781 of 1917, embodying this advance, took effect from August 15th. It applied to firms which had had previous Statutory Orders and to Controlled Establishments, whether they had had Statutory Orders or not, including firms in the tin box, holloware and paper box trades whose wages had so far been left to their Trade Boards, and firms in the electrical porcelain, soap, glass, paper, leather, springs and hinges, tinplate and nut and bolt trades, which had had no Orders, or only Orders covering the few women, if any, who had been introduced on to men's work since the war. The Order simply stated that the *earnings* of all women and girls "whilst employed on munitions work" should be advanced by the sums specified. The scope of the Order was, therefore, far wider than that of any single previous Statutory Order and the "munitions advance" was, in fact, very widely applied among women, whether strictly on munitions work or not.

135. **Order 31 of 1918.**—In October, 1917, the Ministry of Munitions granted the 12½ per cent. bonus on earnings, at first to skilled engineers, and subsequently, under pressure, to practically all adult male time-workers of 21 years and over employed upon munitions work. By a decision of the Cabinet, 7½ per cent. on earnings was granted to all adult male piece-workers in January, 1918. Between these two decisions the Committee on Production, at its third general review in December, 1917, granted a war wage of 5s. to men and 2s. 6d. to boys in the engineering trade. As usual, other trades, such as chemicals, explosives, brass foundries, &c., followed the engineering trade. The Special Arbitration Tribunal were again asked to advise on the figure of a corresponding advance for women and recommended 3s. 6d. for women and 1s. 9d. for girls on the same terms as Order 781. After some inter-departmental negotiations, effect was given to this recommendation as from the first pay day following December 15th, by Order 31 of 1918. It was applied to the firms who had received Order 781, except those in the tin box, hemp rope and tinplate trades.

136. Order 1073 of 1918.—The next claim for a general advance to women was made in March, 1918. The Committee on Production at their March review granted nothing to men, but the Joint Committee of Women's Trade Unions asked that all women employed on men's work should receive the time rates of the men they were replacing, and also asked for a bonus of 10*s.* to women and 5*s.* to girls on women's work. This claim was rejected at the time and only referred to the Tribunal when repeated on the occasion of the men in the engineering trades receiving another 3*s.* 6*d.* in August, 1918, making a total advance, apart from the percentage bonus, of 23*s.* 6*d.* per week upon pre-war rates. The Tribunal recommended increases of 3*s.* 6*d.* for women and 1*s.* 9*d.* for girls. It was, however, felt by the Department undesirable that the disproportion between the total earnings of the two sexes should be further increased, and they obtained Government sanction to an advance of 5*s.* for women and 2*s.* 6*d.* for girls, which was embodied in Order 1073 of 1918. Women in the munition trades had thus received total war wage advances of 11*s.*, in addition to the rate increase arising out of the earlier alterations in the Orders. In December, 1918, a further 5*s.* was granted to men, and in January, 1919, a further 5*s.* to women in the engineering trade. The regulation of wages had now passed wholly into the hands of the Ministry of Labour. The women's last advance, with subsequent modifications of hours, had resulted in an inclusive rate for those on men's work in the engineering trade of 40*s.* for a week of 47 hours, or of 10½*d.* an hour.

137. Enforcement of Statutory Orders.—The usual procedure in applying Statutory Orders was to schedule the firms which, to the Department's knowledge, were engaged upon the production of munitions within the trades intended to be covered and to apply the Orders to these firms. These were generally the Controlled Establishments, but the power of the Department to apply Orders did not depend upon control but on whether the establishment was one of a class to which Section 7 of the 1915 Act had been applied by Order. The scope of the Orders was thus gradually increased, and as the list of Controlled Establishments eventually rose to something over 6,000 firms, their application was of very wide extent. The Department claim to have done their best to include all firms which contracted with the Ministry either directly or indirectly for ordnance and ammunition, aircraft, woodwork and explosives. Large as was the staff of the Ministry, it was, however, not capable of policing the elaborate provisions of the Orders in this great number of establishments. It was at first assumed that the observance of the Orders could be secured by leaving it to the workers or the local Labour Advisory Committees to complain in cases of failure. But in the spring and summer of 1917 the Department thought it necessary to instruct their local Investigation Officers to visit all the establishments scheduled under the Orders and superintend the filling up by them of forms stating the actual wages paid to various classes of women and girls. This work was of great difficulty and complexity under the press of other business and in many hundreds of cases the rates paid by the smaller firms were found not to satisfy the conditions of the Orders. In such cases employers were required to make good deficiencies with arrears. This necessary procedure increased the opposition on the part of many employers to the Statutory Orders. The Employers' Federations in the rubber, wire rope, hemp rope and tin box trades complained bitterly of unfair competition from uncontrolled firms, pointing out that the munitions rates were now much in excess of the rates which they could afford

to pay on commercial work under competitive conditions. In the case of woodworking firms, the Supply Department of the Ministry of Munitions inserted a clause in their contracts making payment of the rates of the Statutory Orders a condition of the contracts. Finally, to overcome the opposition of their contractors, the Minister of Munitions had to undertake that extra and unforeseen wages cost entailed by direct Government action should be reimbursed to the contractors. The War Office and the Admiralty took the same course. All increases of war wages, therefore, fell directly upon the contracting Departments, and it became a matter of indifference to the contractors, temporarily at any rate, what war advances might be granted, except where they were also engaged upon private work.

138. Consolidated Order 546 of 1918.—In June, 1917, the five unions which included the majority of organised women in the munitions trades, namely, the National Federation of Women Workers, the Workers' Union, the National Amalgamated Union of Labour, the National Union of General Workers and the Dock, Wharf and Riverside Workers' Union pressed upon the Department the revision and consolidation of the existing Orders. A draft Order was, therefore, drawn up incorporating the substance of the Unions' demand and referred to the Special Arbitration Tribunal for advice. During the summer and early autumn the Tribunal was in process of reconstruction and it was not until December that their recommendations were received. These recommendations were circulated to the large number of bodies interested, including the Women's Trade Union Advisory Committee, Employers' Advisory Committee, Admiralty, War Office and Ministry of Labour. It was during these interchanges of opinion that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers made the claim, dealt with in Part III of this Report, that women employed on fully skilled work should receive the war wage advances in addition to the time rate of the fully skilled tradesmen.

The most important changes made in the Consolidated Women's Wages Order 546 of 1918,* dated May 8th of that year, were:—

- (i) On work not recognised as men's work there had previously been a lower time rate for the piece-worker than for the time-worker. This difference was now removed, and 5½d. an hour became the guaranteed basic rate for adult women on women's work whether on time or piece. On the other hand the standard for piece-work prices was lowered from time and a third to time and a quarter. The result was an average increase of about 2s. weekly for piece-workers whose prices had been near the minimum. The change indicates that experience had not proved the necessity of stimulating output in the case of piece-workers by lowering their guaranteed minimum.
- (ii) The amplification of the interim order for general woodwork.
- (iii) The insertion of a set of standard rates for women on sheet-metal work for aircraft. These rates, in comparison with engineering rates, were high. They were agreed with the Sheet-metal Workers' Union as a compromise between a claim for the skilled rate for the whole of the work and payment based on the nature of the work when performed under war conditions.

* See Appendix IV. c.

- (iv) A change in the rates for women on women's work from standard into minimum rates, so that all women under the Orders could claim extra payment for special skill, heavy work, risk, &c., under paragraph 31. The Consolidated Order also abandoned the attempt to apply lower rates in rural districts which had been made in Order 10. The Department thus departed in the case of women from the system of variation according to cost of living in different districts which had been a feature of the pre-war practice in regulating wages of men.

The Consolidated Order was applied to over 8,000 firms and accepted without much protest.

139. Effect of Statutory Orders on Women's Wages and Earnings.—Materials are wanting for a complete estimate of the effect of the Statutory Orders upon women's wages. Government Departments had little time for the compilation of comprehensive statistics during the war, but the following figures for April, 1918, supplied by the Ministry of Munitions may be taken as typical of wages in shell factories. They are compiled from returns furnished by 15 National Projectile Factories engaged in manufacturing the larger natures of shell and by more than 30 National Shell Factories.

Grades.	Shell Factories		Projectile Factories.	
	Rates.	Earnings.	Rates.	Earnings.
<i>Males.</i>	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Foremen	4 16 6	6 13 4	5 5 10	6 12 7
Assistant Foremen	4 5 6	6 3 4	4 11 3	6 5 4
Fitters	3 12 0	5 1 8	3 8 5	4 19 8
Turners	3 9 2	5 1 6	3 1 10	6 2 10
Millwrights	3 7 2	5 5 4	3 9 3	5 5 7
Smiths	3 4 3	4 18 6	3 1 0	5 4 4
Charge Hands	3 5 8	4 19 6	3 10 7	5 10 3
Setters-up	3 7 3	5 0 4	3 0 6	5 2 1
Machine Operators	2 9 9	3 15 0	2 11 7	4 12 8
Labourers	2 9 0	3 10 6	2 12 6	4 2 6
Viewers	2 16 4	3 19 6	2 18 3	3 16 6
Average for Males ...	2 19 3	4 6 6	2 19 1	4 14 8
<i>Females.</i>				
Forewomen	2 2 1	2 10 10	2 9 8	3 4 2
Women in Tool Room	1 12 2	1 14 9	1 11 1	1 19 5
Charge Hands, Toolsetter's Assistants, &c.	2 4 6	2 14 3	2 3 5	3 14 5
Machine Operators	1 12 1	2 2 7	1 14 1	3 2 5
Labourers	1 11 4	1 17 9	1 14 1	2 6 3
Viewers	1 15 2	2 3 5	1 15 8	2 5 2
Average for Females ...	1 12 8	2 2 4	1 14 8	2 16 8

The total number employed in National Shell Factories in April, 1918, was 18,046—5,107 males and 12,939 females, and the numbers included in the Return were as follows:—

	Foremen.	Assistant Foremen.	Tool Room.	Charge Hands, &c.	Machine Operators.	Labourers.	Viewers	Total.
Males ...	102	62	645	461	355	1,154	106	2,885
Females ...	62	—	127	245	7,676	1,315	1,193	10,618

The total number employed in National Projectile Factories in April, 1918, was 41,417—20,667 females and 20,750 males, and the numbers included in the Return were as follows:—

	Foremen.	Assistant Foremen.	Tool Room.	Charge Hands, &c.	Machine Operators.	Labourers.	Viewers.	Total.
Males ...	295	263	2,827	1,556	951	5,497	1,081	12,470
Females ...	68	—	4	428	9,418	2,858	2,740	15,516

In the great majority of cases the women described as machine operators were working on piece. The male machine operators would generally be confined to the more difficult operations and the heavier natures of shell. These National Factories were managed either by firms of contractors (in the case of Projectile Factories) or by local Boards generally consisting of prominent manufacturers. The wages of men were fixed strictly on the basis of local rates, and those of women may be assumed to have met the requirements of the Statutory Orders. The figures are, therefore, likely to present a fair average sample of wages on shell production. They certainly indicate that the popular notion of munitions work as a gold mine for the operatives was not borne out by the facts. There were, of course, many cases in which high earnings were made by women on piece-work. This occurred particularly in those establishments which had manufactured shell before the war and had their own customary piece-work prices, established under far different conditions, or in those establishments which adopted the pre-war prices of armament firms. These prices they were now unable to adapt to the new conditions of mass production by reason of Mr. Lloyd George's pledge that piece-work prices once established should not be reduced. In pre-war days orders for shell were given in hundreds. In the last years of the war they were produced on semi-automatic machines by thousands per week. It was this change in method, quite as much as the abandonment of restriction on output by the workpeople, that led to the inflated earnings of some piece-workers and was a frequent source of jealousy among skilled men restricted, from the nature of their occupation, to time work at the standard rates of the district.

In connection with the women's earnings on shell work, some doubt arises as to whether employers always carried out the full requirements of the Statutory Orders in the case of women employed upon men's work on piece. The munitions work undertaken by the majority of establishments was new work, and there were no data from pre-war practice for fixing piece rates. In such cases Clause 7 of

Order 49 required prices to be fixed on such a basis that the women should receive the same percentage over the time rate of the class of man customarily employed on the job as such man would have received had he undertaken the job on piece-work. It seems, however, that a good many employers were content to follow the usual practice of the engineering trade, according to which the workpeople were satisfied if they earned a quarter or a third above their own time rates. In default of any complaint by the workpeople such an error on the part of employers was difficult to detect or to rectify.

The Engineering Employers' Federation in their evidence before the Committee estimated the actual war-time earnings of women on piece-work at 40s. a week, or approximately 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. of the average men's earnings. The Brassfounders' Employers' Association said that women were earning as much as £4 a week on piece-work.

Comparing the earnings of time-workers in engineering establishments it would appear that the male workers would fall into three classes: (1) skilled fitters, turners, smiths, &c., at pre-war rates between 30s. and 40s. per week with local variations, according to district custom, (2) labourers at a pre-war rate of 18s. to 27s., and between these two classes were (3) semi-skilled workers receiving from $\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $1d.$ an hour more than the labourers. All these classes had received towards the end of 1918 war wages amounting to 23s. 6d., if they were above the age of 18, and, in addition, the $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonus on gross earnings if they were above the age of 21. The women who corresponded with the first class, and they were naturally not very numerous, would have received towards the end of 1918 the skilled men's rate as in March, 1917, averaging 46s. per week and, in addition, the women's war wages amounting to 11s. Women time-workers corresponding to the labourers would have received at that time 26s. 6d. for the ordinary 53 hour week, with the war wages of 11s. per week in addition.* Women of the semi-skilled class, including such machine operators as were paid on time, could, under the Orders, claim an intermediate rate, which might either be agreed to by the employers subject to the sanction of the Ministry of Munitions, or referred to the Special Arbitration Tribunal for assessment. In such cases the Special Arbitration Tribunal, where the work was proved to be of a specially laborious or a semi-skilled character, generally awarded a rate of 7d. or 8d. an hour, the war wages being payable in addition. Such women as were working on time on the machining of shell were generally rated at about $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ an hour.

In many cases even the time-workers earned considerably more than their bare time rates. During the great pressure of work in 1916 and 1917 earnings were increased by overtime, night and holiday allowances. Women working on the three-shift system were generally paid at time and a quarter for the whole night turn and sometimes for part of the afternoon turn. Some employers paid a bonus for good time-keeping and many added a bonus on output. The real cause of the visible prosperity of many munition workers during the war was, however, the abundance of employment for men, women, boys and girls and the resulting increase in the family income.

The enactments of the Statutory Orders as consolidated in Order 546 constitute a very important charter for women in industry, and represent a notable achievement of the Ministry of Munitions and their Trade Union advisers. Many provisions of the Orders which may appear to be of secondary importance were in reality reforms of considerable value

* An additional 5s. was granted to men in the Engineering and other trades from December, 1918, and to women from January, 1919.

to women. Equal payment on systems of payment by results was by no means universally recognised as a principle before the war. The guarantee of their time rates to piece-workers has already been mentioned as an important innovation. It had not even been conceded to the male workers in Woolwich Arsenal in pre-war days. The enactment that debit balances should not be carried forward from one week to another, and that all wages and balances should be paid through the office, struck at two unsatisfactory features of the sub-contracting system. The definition of a "woman" as a person of 18 was new and of great moment in view of the fact that girls and boys had not previously attained full rates until 21, or later, and that a large proportion of female workers were persons of 18 to 21. The actual average of women's wages in the metal and munition trades as a result of the Orders was increased rather more than threefold as against a rise in cost of living about twofold, and the disparity of wages between the two sexes was very considerably reduced.

140. Wages in Trades and other Occupations. Metal Trades.—In accordance with the general plan of this Report, the wages of female workers in the various industries and in other occupations as affected by war-time conditions will now be briefly surveyed. The Statutory Orders of the Ministry of Munitions covered the greater part of the metal trades. Even where the women were not directly employed upon munitions work as defined by the Act, their standard of wages was strongly influenced by the Orders. As a rule, in composite establishments partially engaged upon private contracts, the employers found it difficult to discriminate in wages between munition workers and others, though there were cases in which women employed partially upon munitions and partially upon private work received only such a proportion of the munitions advances as represented the proportion of their work which came within the scope of the Orders. The effect of these outside the establishments to which they were directly applied was largely a question of locality. In the great centres of munitions industry the standard they set tended to fix a district rate for female labour, though there is no evidence that such a rate was ever accepted by Government Departments as forming a compulsory wage standard for the purposes of the Fair Wages Clause. The Statutory Orders applying to women on work of a class customarily done by men were of almost universal application in general engineering, shipbuilding, blast furnaces, foundries (iron and brass), in the manufacture of machine tools, bolts, nuts, screws and rivets, arms, ammunition, &c., and in lead and copper works. In the case of shipyards and of contractors who supplied over three-quarters of their products to the Admiralty, wages were regulated by the Admiralty Shipyard Labour Department, who, by an arrangement with the Ministry of Munitions, themselves applied the appropriate Statutory Orders. The Orders affecting women on work not customarily done by men governed the wages of the majority of women in optical and scientific instrument making, in some branches of electrical engineering, brass working (*e.g.*, small arm cartridge cases) and in cycle making. They also regulated the wages of women doing work previously performed by women or by lads and apprentices in all the above-mentioned trades. As an arbitrary line had to be drawn in the case of work usually done by apprentices, the Ministry ruled that apprentices in their first and second years were to be regarded as boys. In certain trades which were only partially engaged on munitions and in which the majority of firms were not controlled establishments, various compromises had to be made. It was generally urged that the

minority of controlled establishments in such trades would be severely penalised in competition with the others if they were to be under the full operation of the statutory rates and advances. Certain contracting Departments supported the views of their contractors on the score of increased prices. Except in cases where the Ministry had to accept a compromise, the principle generally adopted for the border-line trades was to enforce the statutory rates and advances unless there was some other equally satisfactory system of regulating wages.

In steel smelting and tinsplate the Ministry accepted trade agreements which made other provision for the adjustment of women's rates. In the *Steel Smelting* establishments of the South Wales Siemens Steel Association women employed on men's work received the men's rates and advances. This agreement gave women on men's work more favourable terms than did the Statutory Orders, but this was not the case with women employed on boys' work and the Department at first took the view that these women should receive the 2s. 6d. advance of Order 781. After lengthy negotiations, during which the men's Unions agreed with the employers and the women remained passive, it was decided to recognise the agreement, to leave Order 781 unenforced, and to apply no further Orders to the trade. Women and girls employed on boys' work in the South Wales *Tinsplate* establishments of the Welsh Plate and Sheet Manufacturers' Association received the rates and advances given to boys.

The Ministry did not for some time accept the Trade Board minimum rates as necessarily satisfying the standard set by the Statutory Orders. In April, 1918, the Ministry of Labour advised that no future Orders should be applied to any firm in a trade possessing a Trade Board. In the *Chain* trade, the class of chain produced by women is almost entirely destined for agricultural uses and there appears to have been little, or no, dilution upon munitions work. During the war the minimum rate of the Trade Board for women rose from 2½d. to 4d. an hour, or a little over 45 per cent., but, as a matter of fact, according to the evidence of the Chain Manufacturers' Association, piece-work prices were advanced by negotiation with the Unions, so that women earned 140 per cent. over pre-war rates and not less than 25s. and up to 35s. a week. Wages were probably influenced by the fact that a number of women left the industry for munition work in the neighbourhood. The employers stated that the increase of wages during the war had considerably decreased the output of the women. Some of the women employed by the *Light Castings* Association had their wages regulated by the Holloware Trade Board, whose minimum rate of 4d. an hour came into operation during the war, but agreements were made in that trade under which there was a guaranteed minimum rate of 30s. 9d. per week. Women employed by the Light Castings Association on munitions work, such as bombs and light shells, were stated to be earning about £2 a week, compared with an average for men of £3 10s. on time-work, or £6 or £7 on piece-work. This was, of course, under Statutory Orders. Very few women earned the skilled men's rate in that trade. In the *Tin Box* trade the Trade Board minimum rate rose to 5½d. per hour, or 23s. 10d. per week. The large firms in that trade, in which the bulk of the workpeople are employed, were covered by the earlier Orders of the Ministry of Munitions requiring advances of 6s. per week.

In the *Nut and Bolt* trade the rates of the Statutory Orders were, as the result of an arbitration in August, 1917, made payable by all federated nut and bolt firms in the Black Country and the Birmingham

area, and in September the Department applied their Statutory Orders to all the nut and bolt firms, in spite of some opposition by the trade, based chiefly on the ground that the time-keeping of the women was already very bad, and that every increase made it worse. In this trade the women shared in the very considerable increases in piece-work prices which were obtained by the male workers. Order 546 was, as the Committee were informed by the Engineering and National Employers' Federation, also applied to *Nails, Tacks, Rivets and Screws*, as well as to *Wire-drawing*.

In the *Aircraft* industry the rates of women employed on sheet metal work and woodwork were finally regulated by different parts of the Consolidated Order. The Society of Women Welders stated that rates for their class of work differed greatly from shop to shop because there was no clear demarcation between skilled and semi-skilled work. They varied from 7d. to 1s. 5d. an hour. The Special Arbitration Tribunal in certain cases gave a rate of 8d. an hour on the basis of semi-skilled work, and in other cases awarded the full fitters' rate. A proposed scheme of grading aircraft work for women according to skill was set forth in the evidence of Miss Rolfe, of the Aircraft Production Department.*

In the *Sheffield Cutlery* trade an agreement dated November 13th, 1916, made between the Manufacturers' Association and the National Amalgamated Union of Labour on behalf of the Spring Knife Grinders classified the operations on which women might be employed as skilled and unskilled. In the case of unskilled workers the rates began at 8s. per week for girls under 16 and 12s. per week as a starting wage for women of 18 years and over, rising after 12 months' service to 17s. per week. Women who had 12 months, or more actual working experience in the trade were classified as "skilled," and at 18 received 16s. per week, at 20 20s. per week for a 50 hour week. It is scarcely necessary to point out that this agreement did not relate to munitions work. It is of special interest as showing that employers not controlled by any Statutory Orders still preferred to regulate the wages of women according to age and experience. The comparatively low level of wages is also instructive in comparison with the standards of the Statutory Orders.

A number of women and girls in the *Metal Small-ware* trade (buttons, pins, &c.) were paid under the Statutory Orders at the end of the war, but the Engineering and National Employers' Federation informed the Committee that owing to the number of very small employers, it could not be said that there was any uniformity in the wages at that time.

In the *Silver and Electro-plate* trade of Sheffield women are mostly employed on piece-work, and there was little dilution, owing to the opposition of the men. In certain cases, however, the employers paid a weekly fee to the men who undertook to teach women to do part of their work. In others of the Sheffield lighter steel industries wages were regulated partly by the Statutory Orders and partly in sympathy with them where they did not directly apply.

141. Chemical Trades. Explosives.—The greater part of the trades included in the term chemical industries were gradually drawn into the service of munitions. The manufacture of Explosives was, of course, mainly munition work from the first. As has already been explained, Circular L.2. and the Orders based thereon were not considered suitable for process work, and it followed that for some time after the issue of this Circular manufacturers in private establishments generally regarded their female em-

* Appendix Id., p. 60.

ployees as being engaged on work of a class customarily done by women, although the scope of their employment was already somewhat extended to supplement that of men. Messrs. Nobel alone agreed with the Scottish Dockers' Union to pay the women introduced on to the men's work the minimum time rate of the class of men they were replacing. Women employed on night shift under a special dispensation from the Home Office, even though the class of work they were doing was formerly women's work, were considered by the firm as replacing men, and were, therefore, paid at men's rates. In July, 1916, Order 447 was applied to firms in the explosives trade, and fixed a minimum time rate for adult time-workers at $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ an hour, with $\frac{1}{2}d.$ extra for work performed in danger zones. The Ministry did not, however, object to the continuance of the special arrangement made by Messrs. Nobel. The conditions of the explosives trade render piece-work somewhat exceptional, though it was the practice of the Cotton Powder Co., and the King's Norton Metal and Munition Co., to employ men and women together on fellowship piece-work, or the premium bonus system. Messrs. Nobel have always employed women on the carttridging of blasting explosives on piece-work. With regard to the earnings of women during the later stages of the war period, the evidence of Messrs. Nobel shows that women engaged on men's work were earning the comparatively high minimum rates of $11\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour, while adult women on women's work were earning nearly $9d.$, inclusive of war wages and "danger money." At Messrs. Kynoch's the wages of women rose from a pre-war rate of $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour, with average earnings of $12s. 4d.$ per week, to average weekly earnings of $\pounds 2\ 8s. 1d.$ Messrs. Curtis's and Harvey stated the pre-war earnings of women at about $17s. 6d.$, and their war-time earnings at $45s.$ per week, compared with the men's average of $65s.$ per week. The Cotton Powder Co. stated that the earnings of women at the end of the war were about three times those prevailing prior to the war, and about 40 per cent. lower than those of men on the same standard of hours. The work of the private contractors in the explosives trade was, however, overshadowed by that of the large factories erected by the Government at Gretna, Queensferry, Pembrey, and elsewhere for the production of cordite and other explosives. The full details of the classification of work and the wages paid at these war-time factories was set forth in the evidence of Mr. Mason, Mr. Gilmour, and Mr. Chance.* The rates prescribed in Order 447 with the supplement for danger zones was taken as the basis, and scaled and graded upwards according to the difficulty and responsibility of the process involved. The classification of the operations was largely determined by an arbitration before the Special Tribunal in connection with H.M. Factory, Pembrey, at the instance of the National Federation of Women Workers. Sixpence per hour, plus $11s.$, was regarded as the minimum starting rate in the autumn of 1918, and at this rate the normal weekly earnings would be $35s.$ per week, but on the more difficult or dangerous operations earnings advanced to $50s.$ per week. At H.M. Factory, Gretna, the minimum rate paid to women on 1st September, 1918, was $38s.$, plus $2s.$ bonus. The majority of these women were lodged in hostels at a weekly charge which rose from $12s. 9d.$ to $17s. 6d.$ per week by the end of September. At H.M. Factory, Oldbury, which was largely engaged upon the manufacture of T.N.T., the earnings of women on time-work ranged between $\pounds 2\ 12s. 3d.$ and $\pounds 2\ 16s. 7d.$ weekly, while men on similar operations, being mainly trained men supervising the women, earned from $\pounds 3\ 15s. 4d.$ to $\pounds 4\ 13s. 4d.$ A few of the women at Oldbury were engaged on piece-work at labouring

* Appendix Id, pp. 71 to 75.

jobs, such as unloading nitre and coke. These women earned up to £3 5s. 4d., but as a rule the women employed in H.M. Factories worked on time only, it being considered that piece-work led to undue risk in the manufacture of explosives.

Similar conditions obtained in National Filling Factories. Here also the rates of Order 447 with the danger money were regarded as forming a minimum rate. The conditions of work in the Filling Factories, with its attendant risks to health and temporary disfigurement, led to some reluctance on the part of women to undertake this work, and rates were consequently increased on the more objectionable processes up to nearly 1s. an hour. Certain of H.M. Filling Factories developed a system of limited piece-work under careful safeguards, and high earnings were made in some of the sections at the National Factories at Leeds and Georgetown. The following table shows the average rate of wages and weekly earnings of men and women in National Filling Factories in July, 1918, and the numbers employed:—

Grades.				Numbers.	Rates.			Earnings.		
Males.					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Labourers	...	...	...	5,372	2	2	3½	2	19	4
Filling Operatives	...	...	...	2,484	2	0	0	3	7	0½
Charge Hands	...	...	...	299	2	18	1	3	15	7
Assistant Foremen	...	...	...	223	3	13	1	4	3	11
Foremen	...	...	...	299	4	8	10½	5	1	10
Total	...	...	...	8,677						
Females.										
Labourers	...	...	...	5,156	1	12	5½	2	2	11
Filling Operatives	...	...	...	27,970	1	12	7	2	2	4
Charge Hands	...	...	...	1,749	1	17	8	2	4	2
Assistant Forewomen	...	...	...	195	2	7	6	2	15	9½
Forewomen	...	...	...	165	2	10	5	3	0	8
Total	...	...	...	35,235						

The King's Norton Metal Co., private contractors employed upon filling work, had always employed women at their Abbey Wood Factory upon fellowship piece-work. 7½d. per hour was the time rate for the girls in the danger area, and 7d. in the non-danger area, with the war wages and a time-keeping bonus in addition.

142. Heavy Chemicals.—The Heavy Chemical trade was gradually diverted to the production of raw materials for explosives, and Order 447 supplied the basis of a minimum rate. Messrs. Brunner Mond adopted the rates paid in the National Factory at Queensferry, but subsequently had rates for various classes of female labour determined by an award of the Special Arbitration Tribunal, and these were recommended by the Ministry of Munitions for adoption in many other chemical firms. The general rate of pay for women on day work in such firms was 8½d. per hour as compared with an average rate of 10½d. per hour, plus 12½ per cent. for men, and the average earnings of women and men on a 53 hour week were 37s. 6d. compared with £2 11s. 9d. The majority of women in the chemical trade worked on 8 hour shifts, and generally women working six 8 hour shifts per week were paid for 54 hours. This system, which obtained also in H.M. Factories, was designed to cover the time required in changing clothes and getting to their places in the large areas of work common to this class of manufacture. In the *Salt* trade

women were not introduced to any considerable extent upon men's work, but the Salt Union employed them on the refining of nitrate of soda, and paid them at the Statutory Orders rate. The Salt Union estimated the average earnings of women employed on packing work at 25*s.* for a normal week for young girls. Women labourers earned 27*s.* to 35*s.*, and women trucking bags at piece-work up to as much as 65*s.*

143. Drugs and Light Chemicals.—In the Light Chemical trades the women were not employed upon munitions work but the wages were affected by the Orders of the Ministry of Munitions and parallel advances were given. A rough classification of female labour was made with the object of bringing it under four rates ranging from 35*s.* per week of 50 hours, or approximately 8½*d.* per hour, down to 27*s.* 6*d.* per week, or approximately 6½*d.* per hour. War wages amounted to 15*s.* Women's rates were approximately 65 per cent. of those of the men, but actually, by more regular attendance, the men had considerably higher earnings.

144. Seed Crushing.—The Seed Crushers' Association, of Hull, agreed with the Trade Union to pay the same rates to women employed in the process as to men, and the war time wages of women so employed were accordingly from 49*s.* to 57*s.* per week, according to the class of work done, which included 25*s.* war bonus. On labouring work, the women received a lower rate than the men, namely, 31*s.* 6*d.*, as against 49*s.* Wages were generally paid on a system of regulated piece-work, which means that the operations are timed and the operator, whether man or woman, is required to work by the clock. The work was done in sets of three or four, but it was found better to keep the sexes separate. The system of dilution during the war was agreed to by the Unions concerned, principally the Dockers' Union. Women on women's work in controlled establishments received the advances required by the Statutory Orders.

145. Soap and Candles.—The manufacture of *Soap* was not generally treated as munitions work although the more important firms in the trade were controlled on account of their output of glycerine as a by-product. The Statutory Orders were, therefore, not applied to these until the issue of the Consolidated Order in May, 1918, when the application was general to all the trades in this group. The advances given were, however, throughout parallel to those awarded by the Ministry of Munitions, though the trade retained its previous system of graduating wages according to age. The war-time rate for women employed upon their own classes of work varied between 26*s.* 6*d.* and 35*s.* per week, while women engaged on work previously performed by youths or men were paid from 31*s.* to 40*s.* 6*d.* Piece-work prices were not as a rule altered. They were based upon the time rates, but the time rates were not guaranteed to the piece-workers. About 15*s.* was given to women whether on time or piece by way of war advances in the *Candle* section, while the men received 23*s.* 6*d.* parallel to the munitions advances. Practically all the girls in the Candle trade were on piece-work. Wages were regulated partly by arbitration awards, at the instance of the National Union of Warehousemen, before the Special Arbitration Tribunal, and in the case of men before the Committee on Production. In July, 1918, there were Arbitrations before the Committee on Production between the Soap and Candle Trades Employers' Federation and the National Warehouse and General Workers' Union, who claimed an advance of 10*s.* per week for men, 8*s.* 6*d.* for women, 5*s.* for boys and girls, and between the Cheshire Branch of the same Federation and the National Federation of General Workers, who claimed a war wage advance of 10*s.* per week on time rates

for adult workpeople of both sexes. In both cases the Committee on Production awarded to men an advance of 3*s.* 6*d.*, to women of 18 and over 2*s.* 6*d.*, to boys and youths 1*s.* 9*d.*, and to girls 1*s.* 3*d.*

146. Textile Trades.—Although the products of the Textile industry were largely destined for military clothing, and as such, were technically munitions within the definition of the Munitions of War Act, the manufacture of material for uniforms was not subject to the Ministry of Munitions nor within the scope of their Statutory Orders. Wages were regulated, so far as the Government was concerned, only by the Fair Wages clause of the War Office contracts. So far as dilution took place in these trades outside the Statutory Orders, it was a matter of voluntary arrangement. In the latter part of 1915 and the early part of 1916, the Home Office, through their Factory Inspectors, assisted in the drawing up of a number of voluntary dilution agreements, which had generally three common features:—

1. They were strictly limited to the period of the war, and the women were to make room for the men at the close of the war.
2. The interests of the remaining male workers were carefully safeguarded.
3. The remuneration of women was generally agreed upon the basis of equal pay for an equivalent quantity of work.

In the Textile Trades generally, according to the Labour Gazette, the number of people whose rates of wages were changed amounted to 866,000 in 1917 and 815,000 in 1918; the total net increase in weekly wages was £272,000 in 1917 and £468,500 in 1918—not far short of 25 million a year.

147. Cotton Spinning and Weaving.—The war period began for the Cotton trade with a very serious diminution of employment. Mr. John Taylor, Secretary of the Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association, told the Committee that in the Borough of Blackburn, which is the largest cotton manufacturing town in the world, only 20,464 workers were employed during the week December 30th, 1914, that is 17,716 below normal, and average wages went down from the pre-war average of 24*s.* to 14*s.* 4*d.* owing to short time. But from that date things began to improve. In January, 1916, there was a wages advance of 5 per cent., but for various reasons the average earnings were little higher than before the war. In January, 1917, there was a further advance of 5 per cent., and in July, 1917, of 10 per cent.; by November, 1917, the average weekly wage had risen to 28*s.* 7*d.* with sixteen mills closed. At the end of the year cotton operatives had received 35 per cent. on pre-war list prices; in June 1918, 60 per cent. and in December 110 per cent. Witnesses estimated the advance on pre-war earnings in the autumn of 1918 as follows:—

	1914.		1918.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women or girls.
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
Cloth lookers	30 0	25 0	50 0	50 0
Ring spinners (four sides) ...	—	23 0	—	37 0
Little tenters	—	12 0	—	17 0
Big tenters	—	24 0	—	38 0
Four loom weavers	22 <i>s.</i> to 28 <i>s.</i>	22 <i>s.</i> to 28 <i>s.</i>	—	40 0

In the card and blowing rooms women assisting men in men's operations would get about 30s. and the remaining men, who received the benefit of the absent man's wages, sometimes as much as £4. The job was not to be made cheaper for the employer. Substitution of women for men, where it took place on other processes hitherto reserved by trade custom for men, was effected by means of the series of agreements to which reference has already been made. An interesting one, in so far as wages are concerned, was that of January 5th, 1916, between the Bury members of the Cotton Waste Spinners' Association and the Operative Cotton Spinners' Association, whereby it was agreed that the spinners should pay the girls learning to piece on the mules 5s. per week less than the piece-work rate for the first and second weeks, the sum deducted decreasing until the sixth week, when it remained at 2s. less than the piece-work rate; the deduction so made was to be equally divided between the spinner and the piecer. The firm was to make up any difference that there might be between the girl's earnings during her six weeks' training and her agreed time rate. The minimum amount of wages for the first six weeks was to be 14s. a week. This agreement suggests that the process of dilution in the munition trades might possibly have gone more smoothly if there had been regular provision for a payment to the male worker who gave the instruction of a sum equal to the difference between the girl learner's rate and the standard rate for the job.

148. Woollen and Worsted.—In the *Woolcombing* Branch of the woollen and worsted trades, by a trade agreement of April, 1916, where women were doing jobs scheduled as men's, they received the men's rates of pay, but where they were not capable of doing the full work of the men they were to receive not less than four-fifths of the men's rate. The average earnings of women at the end of 1918 were 36s. 6d., compared with the men's average of 56s., representing an increase of about 111 per cent. in the case of men and 121 per cent. in the case of women. Wages during the war were regulated by awards of the Committee on Production. In the *Manufacturing* branch of the woollen and worsted trades in the West Riding of Yorkshire, women were substituted on men's work under a series of agreements between the Employers' and Operatives' Associations entered into between October, 1915, and February, 1916. The principal agreement—that of February 4th, 1916—contained the following provision with regard to the payment of women employed to take the place of men:—

“That where women are employed to take the place of men the rate of wages for such women shall be:—

- (a) If at piece rates the same as for men, unless women's rates are already established for that class of work, provided no women shall receive less than the district rate for women.

(This clause was inserted more particularly on account of the different rate for women weavers at Huddersfield. In warping the women were paid at Huddersfield the same as the men.)

- (b) If at time rates for day-time work, and one or more women replace an equal number of men, they shall be paid the same rate of wages now being paid to males for an equivalent quantity of work and in any case not less than four-fifths of the rate previously paid to the men they replace.

(As far as the manufacturing branch of the trade is concerned, the four-fifths' rate was never put into operation. It was assumed the women

did an equivalent quantity of work and they were paid the same rates as the men.)

- (c) If at time rates for day-time work, and a larger number of women are required to replace a smaller number of men, the aggregate wages paid to the women shall not be less than the aggregate wages paid to the men they replace, and in no case shall the wage paid to an individual woman be less than four-fifths of the wage previously paid to the men replaced."

War advances were given by the Committee on Production by percentages, which had risen by the end of 1918 to 104 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., with a limit of 31s. 5d. for men on time-work and 104 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. without any limit in the case of women on time-work, except that women employed in the place of men were subject to the men's limit. Women piece-workers got 89 per cent. above pre-war rates, men piece-workers 83 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. The percentages for war wages were so arranged that women piece and time-workers should receive approximately the same amount, and similarly for the men piece and time-workers; the war wage of the women doing men's work was the same as men's. Mr. G. H. Wood, representing the Woollen and Worsted Trades Federation gave the following figures showing comparative average earnings in 1906 and 1918 for Yorkshire weavers:—

	1906.		1918.	
	Women 18 years and up (55 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours).		All female weavers (55 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours).	
	Number.	Weekly Wage.	Number.	Weekly Wage.
Woollen weavers—		s. d.		s. d.
1 loom	7,579	15 8	10,262	21 4
2 loom	5,902	15 9	881	24 1
Worsted weavers—				
1 loom	2,727	16 7	1,738	22 8
2 loom	5,902	14 0	9,026	21 6
Unclassed	817	16 4	—	—
	17,248	15 3	21,907	21 9

and the following is his comparison of the earnings of men and women in the Huddersfield district where alone different piece-work prices were paid for men and for women.

	1906.		1918.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Woollen weavers...	26 4	19 6	30 8	26 5
Worsted branch ...	26 1	19 11	28 5	24 5

In the *Scotch Tweed Trade* war wages were regulated by arbitration and by conciliation agreements. In the Hawick district at first the advances were made locally without pressure; then there were two arbitration awards for women of 4s. and 3s. respectively. In March, 1918, a conciliation agreement followed which included practically all the mills in the South of Scotland and gave an increase on pre-war averages (adjusted in the case of specially low averages) of 55 per cent. for piece-work and 60 per cent. for time-work. There was also a provision in the agreement that the minimum increases under this arrangement were to be 17s. weekly for men and 12s. weekly for women on the individual pre-war earnings. All previous general advances were merged in this agreement. In October, 1918, a further agreement was arrived at by arbitration when the percentages were changed to 70 per cent. for piece-work and 80 per cent. for time-work. The guaranteed advances above individual pre-war weekly earnings were increased to 22s. for men and 16s. for women. The workers, who were not largely organised before the war, are now generally in the Workers' Union or the National Union of General Workers. The earnings of the women have approached considerably nearer to those of the men in consequence of changes during the war. The average wages of women now range from 25s. to 34s. 6d., while those of men range from 33s. to 43s. 6d. The average percentage of men's wages earned by women in the same occupation is 72 per cent. The war period also included a reduction of hours from 55½ to 49½. In the *Welsh Flannel Trade* an agreement of August 15th, 1916, made provision that females employed in the place of males should be paid the same rate of wages for an equivalent quantity and quality of work. All classes of work were to be equitably divided between males and females, the females were to be paid at least the wages current in the locality for women during the training period. Should a shortage of work arise the women were to stand off after the completion of the work in hand until the men workers were working full time.

149. Hosiery.—In the Hosiery Trade there were six important local agreements for the substitution of women on various types of knitting machines and in the subsidiary processes of dyeing and finishing and in warehouse work. All these agreements emphasised the temporary character of the arrangements made, provided for reinstatement of male operatives, and prescribed equal pay for an equivalent quantity of work. The Hinckley agreement of March 6th, 1916, gave a minimum rate of 20s. per week for females during the period of probation, and provided for an interesting domestic arrangement—"A female relative of a counter-man, if not already employed in the hosiery trade, may be introduced by him and taught by him; he will draw the wages of both and make his own arrangements with the female for her portion of the remuneration." The same piece prices were paid to men and women except in two departments where women received 5 per cent. less than men. The average earnings were stated by the witness for the Leicester and Leicestershire Hosiery Union to be 45s. for men and 30s. for women with a war bonus of 5d. (recently advanced to 6½d.) on every 1s. earned. The war wages were awarded by the Committee on Production. In the Hawick district of Scotland, girls put on to men's work received a normal wage of 20s. at first, and, when efficient, a wage which approximated to the men's. In the case of time-workers, the rate for women in November, 1918, was about 15 per cent. less than for the men. War bonuses had been granted to the extent of 67½ per cent., equal to the men's bonuses. They were given in the first two years by agreement, and later by arbitration. Owing to the competition of munition work in the neighbourhood it was

found necessary to raise the wages to make the occupation attractive to women by increasing the piece-work statements.

150. Lace.—In the Lace Trade women were introduced as machine attendants under an agreement made under the auspices of H.M. Factory Inspector, which provided that females employed in the Lace Curtain Trade of Scotland should be paid the same rate of wages as that paid the males for an equivalent quantity of work. An agreement of August 9th, 1916, for two firms in the Lace Trade in England stipulated merely that the "employment of females should not affect the rate of wages to be paid for any work."

151. Hair.—The Hair Trade which was mentioned in Chapter II as having been conspicuous among the Textile Trades for low wages, both to men and women, appears to have undergone little change during the war. According to information communicated by the Ministry of Labour, the following hourly rates were paid in 1917:—

	Men.			Women.	
	Under 18.	Over 18.		Under 18.	Over 18.
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i> <i>d.</i>
Dressers 	1½	to 7	6½ to 1 0¾	1½ to 3	1¾ to 4½
Hair Sorters 	2½	" 3½	3½ " 4½	No Returns.	
Hair Pan Hands 	—		3¾ " 8	No Returns.	
Average 6½ <i>d.</i>					

The average time worked is a 56-hour week. In addition to the above wages, a bonus was paid to the workers, probably by arrangement with the employers. The Ministry of Labour is understood to be considering the establishment of a Trade Board for the Hair Trade.

152. Bleaching, Printing, Dyeing and Finishing.—The substitution of women in the Textile Dyeing and Bleaching Trades took place under agreements of February, 1916, in the case of Yorkshire and Bradford. Both agreements stated that in fixing the basis of payment to women taking the place of men, either on piece or on day rates, regard should be paid to the quantity of work done as contrasted with that formerly done by adult males, and the Bradford agreement stipulated that, where women worked on piece-work in a set, the number of shares to be assigned to them was to be agreed upon and periodically revised according to their improved efficiency, by arrangement between the Bradford Dyers' Association and the workmen's societies. In most instances in these trades women are employed in sets or gangs, occasionally along with men and girls, or youths. In such cases piece-work earnings are disbursed on a ratal system, the employer making his payment to the set or department according to the total output, and the fully competent woman receiving a certain percentage (50 per cent. before the war) of the earnings of a fully competent man, with proportionately lower ratals for youths and girls. Women on other piece-work made considerably less earnings than men, though the piece rates were the same. By arrangement with the employers, a war bonus was given and varied every three months according to the figures of cost of living shown in the Board of Trade "Labour Gazette." In November,

1918, men received 30s. advance over pre-war rates for a full week of 55½ hours; women of 18 and over received 18s. 10d.; youths and girls between 16 and 18 received 15s., and under 16 13s. 2d. Mr. Verity, of the Amalgamated Society of Dyers and Finishers, informed the Committee that in his section of the trade the earnings of women on piece-work were from 36s. to 40s. per week, and those of men from 65s. to 80s. per week of 54 hours, with an average of 75s. These figures included war wages. The system of adjusting war wages on a sliding scale according to the cost of living is stated to have worked very well. It naturally involves a smaller advance to women than to men, as it is based on a lower time rate. In cotton, warp and hank dyeing, Mr. Arthur Shaw, of the National Society of Dyers and Finishers, estimated the wages of women at £2 per week, including war wages.

153. Clothing Trades. Tailoring.—For the Tailoring Trade a substitution agreement was made between the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Federation and the Amalgamated Union of Clothiers' Operatives, on May 10th, 1916, which fixed minimum time-rates for women workers and provided that females introduced to take the place of men employed on piece-work should be paid the same rates as the men they replaced. The Tailoring Trade Board increased their minimum rate for men from 6d. to 8d. an hour and for women from 3½d. to 6d. an hour for cutters, trimmers and fitters 20 years of age and over, and 5d. for other adult workers, with lower rates for probationers. The Committee on Production in two awards dated the 4th October, 1917, and the 8th July, 1918, gave a total addition of 3d. an hour to all men over 22, of 2d. an hour to men between 18 and 22 and to women over 18, and of 1d. an hour to youths and girls under 18. The amounts awarded were to be paid over and above piece-work earnings. Sir Maurice Levy informed the Committee on Women in Industry that in the Leicester district the Trade Board determinations practically only affected women in the cutting room. These worked on time because they were not sufficiently skilled for piece-work. Evidence from another Midland firm was that women were paid at two-thirds the men's rates in the cutting room, where they did the less skilled section of the work, and a third firm corroborated this with the figures of 37s. 5d. for women's and 55s. for men's wages for "laying up" preparatory to cutting. The same piece-rates were paid by Sir M. Levy's firm to women and men for fitting and pressing off, but earnings of the former were 33 per cent. to 35 per cent. less and there was a difference of this percentage or a little more in the time-work wages for passing and in the warehouse, stock-rooms and offices. In trimming and sorting—unskilled work—women received more than the youths they replaced. The other Midland firm whose wage figures are quoted above gave as the present wages for the three formerly men's or mainly men's operations of fitting, pressing and passing, 37s. 5d., 33s. 6d. and 34s. 6d. for women, and 49s., 59s. and 59s. 5d. for men. In another firm, also in the Midlands, for pressing off, a process considered by the United Garments Workers' Union to be unsuitable for women, women on day work appear to have received only one-third the payment to men on piece-work. The same firm paid women three-fourths of the man's time-rate for passing. Stress was laid by both employers and Trade Union on the women taken on to men's work doing only the lighter parts of it, and this, of course, affects the value of wage comparisons. Mr. Young, of the Garment Workers' Union, said that in the tailoring trade women's wages had tended during the war to approach more

closely to men's wages. Representatives of a leading London and of a prominent Leeds firm both said that women's wages were double what they had been in pre-war times.

154. Shirtmaking.—The Shirtmaking Trade Board during the war increased their obligatory rate for female workers to 4*d.* and 3½*d.* an hour in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, and the Committee on Production, by an award of the 25th September, 1918, gave a total addition of 1½*d.* an hour to all men over 22, 1*d.* an hour to all men between 18 and 22, and to all women, and ½*d.* an hour to all youths and girls under 18.

155. Dressmaking and Millinery.—The circumstances of the war did little to help women employed in dressmaking and millinery. Their wages came under no Government regulation, the Tailoring Trade Board having no power to determine wages for any branches of the retail bespoke tailoring trade other than those engaged in making garments to be worn by male persons, and in which at least three persons or two female persons (in both cases exclusive of cutters) were engaged in making one garment. The witness who represented the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, Tailoresses, &c., before the Committee stated that there were numbers of girls in Devon and Cornwall who had been working for 12*s.* and 14*s.* a week for 50 hours during the whole of the war, and quoted the case of a large co-operative society which in June, 1918, was paying 28*s.* to a head dressmaker, 26*s.*, 15*s.* and 14*s.* to three second and skirt hands over 24 years of age, and from 4*s.* to 8*s.* to five assistants from 15 to 18 years of age. The same witness referred to the unregulated waterproof trade, and mentioned a factory doing Government work in which in June, 1918, a girl of 18 was getting 8*s.* a week; the average for girls machining mackintoshes was 6*s.* 6*d.* to 9*s.* 6*d.* a week. An award of the Committee of Production dated July 8th, 1918, added 1*d.* an hour to the wages of women in this trade. An agreement of December, 1918, for the London millinery trade fixed a minimum wages scale: learners and improvers to rise from 8*s.* per week for the first 6 months to 16*s.* per week for the fourth 6 months; assistants from 4½*d.* per hour after two years' experience to 6*d.* an hour after five years' experience; first assistants and copyists 7½*d.* an hour.

Under a provision of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, hereafter referred to, the Minister of Labour issued an Order on March 26th, 1919, prescribing as from April 7th, 1919, the following rates per hour, including war advances, for women and girls employed in the Clothing trades in which Trade Boards had not been established:—

Women of 18 years and over	7 <i>d.</i>
Girls of 17 and under 18	6 <i>d.</i>
Girls of 16 and under 17	4½ <i>d.</i>
Girls of 15 and under 16	4 <i>d.</i>
Girls under 15 years (after 6 months)	2½ <i>d.</i>
Girls under 15 years (for the first 6 months)	2 <i>d.</i>

156. Boot and Shoe.—In the Boot and Shoe Trade there were some increases in the men's minima agreed upon during the war, but, apart from these, wages increased considerably, some women earning as much as 30*s.* and men as much as £3 without bonus, nearly double the pre-war minima. The war bonus advances were 8*s.* for women and 15*s.* for men. Under an agreement dated the 25th June, 1915, where women came into men's processes they received the same wage for an equivalent

quantity of work after a period of training. The representative of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives informed the Committee that a woman was paid according to the quantity statements based on the male labour rate. Payment was made for so many dozen articles, and the woman would get a proportion of this representing the work she did compared to that done by a man. It was claimed that owing to this system of payment the effect of women coming into the men's departments was not detrimental to the men.

157. Glove.—An agreement between the Manufacturers' Association and the Operatives' Trade Unions in the Somersetshire Glove Manufacturing Trade of May 9th, 1916, arranged that females employed in substitution for men should be paid the same rates of wages for an equivalent quantity of work, and that all classes of work should be equitably divided between males and females.

158. Dyeing and Cleaning.—In the Dyeing and Cleaning of clothes the wages of women, according to the National Federation of Dyers and Cleaners, speaking mainly for London and the Home Counties, had gone up during the war by about 10s., to 25s. to 35s. a week. Eighteen shillings was a minimum wage adopted in certain establishments, but in a large firm near Brighton no one was on that scale in November, 1918, and the majority of the workers of the semi-skilled class, who had been 2 years at the trade were earning 32s. to 35s. The latter wage, increased from 22s. in 1914, was being earned by women doing what was men's work before the war, but they only had part of the man's responsibility; his wage would now be £3 to £3 10s. a week. As a finisher, a woman would be getting at the present time 30s. to 32s. a week. No evidence was received from workpeople in this trade.

159. Laundries.—There was divergence in the evidence given to the Committee as to wages in Laundries during the war by the representatives of the comprehensive National Federation of Laundry Associations and of the small Laundry Workers' Union. According to the former, while in no case had a war bonus been given, increase in wages began about six months after the war, and had amounted to somewhere between 50 per cent. and 100 per cent. above pre-war standards. Hand ironers who earned 20s. to 35s. a week, and some calender girls working in teams, who earned 25s. to 30s., were on piece-work; otherwise the workers were generally paid by the week. Where women were doing men's work they generally received the same rate of pay as the men, and the total earnings of these women worked out at considerably more than the average woman's wage, and in some cases at as much as the man's. Miss Butterworth, of the Laundry Workers' Union, stated that there was no increase of wages for two years after the commencement of the war, and that after three years it amounted to 30 per cent., or 33½ per cent., and that women doing men's work did not receive the men's rate, but the ordinary women's rate. She referred, however, to women's wages being about 30 per cent. below the man's 40s. a week, which would bring them to about 30s. They were certainly, on the average, not higher.

160. Food, Drink and Tobacco Trades. Grain Milling.—Only certain of the firms making oil for margarine and of the distilleries were controlled under the Munitions of War Act, for the sake of by-products utilised in the manufacture of explosives; otherwise wages were regulated by agreement or by arbitration. In Grain Milling it was estimated by employers that it takes three women to do the work of two

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men, and wages were adjusted accordingly. In the London district, on the lower grade classes of work, the men were paid 11*d.* and the women received 7½*d.* or 7½*d.* The representative of the National Union of Millers stated that the women were getting 6*d.* or 6½*d.* an hour. Wages had to a large extent been regulated by the Joint District Councils and Works Committees, at which the employers and employees had come to an agreement. War wages had been awarded by the Committee on Production. On June 20th, 1918, the National Federation of General Workers, the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Workers and Confectioners and Allied Workers, the National Union of Millers, and the London and Provincial Union of Licensed Vehicle Workers submitted a claim to a war wage advance of 26*s.* above pre-war rates for all adults of 18 years of age and over, with 20*s.* per week for women of 18 years of age and over doing ordinary women's work. The Committee, however, awarded the men aged 21 years and over an advance of 8*s.* per week on the wages then being paid, provided that in no case should the total war advance over the rate paid before the war exceed 26*s.* a week. Women aged 18 years and over, and men between 18 and 21, were to receive 3*s.* 6*d.* a week. The Ministry of Food were made parties to this award, the trade being controlled and guaranteed against loss. Increases of wages, therefore, fell indirectly upon the Government. There was a further award of December 20th, 1918, which gave the men 7*s.* 6*d.* and the women 5*s.*

161. Confectionery.—The Food Manufacturers' Federation stated that women were introduced on certain of the men's jobs in the Confectionery Trade, and in such cases received the men's wages. There were no definite agreements governing their introduction. The rates of wages for women on women's work in the confectionery trade were governed by the Trade Board, whose rates rose from 3*d.* to 6½*d.* per hour for women, and from 6*d.* to 11*d.* for men. In addition to this, many firms gave war bonuses. Piece-work is the more common method of remuneration in this trade.

162. Bread and Biscuit.—In *Bread* Baking the few women introduced on to men's work were generally paid two-thirds of the men's rate. The Joint Industrial Council which has recently been established in this trade, and is beginning to form District Councils, fixed the wages for table hands, the lowest grade of workmen, at £3 a week, with corresponding increases for leading hands. The wages of women generally have increased by 50 per cent. in Scotland. In the *Biscuit* trade the representative of Messrs. Huntley & Palmer told the Committee that 27*s.* had been established as a new minimum rate for women of 18 years of age and over, and 45*s.* for men of 18 years of age and over, by negotiation with the National Union of General Workers. The women rise on a scale of wages according to age up to 30*s.* at 21, at which age they would receive two-thirds of the men's wages. The figures represent an advance of more than 100 per cent. over pre-war rates. It has also been agreed between the firm and the Union that piece-work prices shall be fixed so as to yield 40 per cent. more than the day wage to the average worker. In one case quoted, the average rate of piece-work earnings was 24*s.* 1½*d.* per week; the highest piece-work earnings in the same department made by a woman were 40*s.* 10*d.* Messrs. McVitie & Price paid an average of 34*s.* for a 52 hour week to women replacing men or boys.

163. Brewing and Malting.—In Brewing and Malting, according to evidence from Messrs. Samuel Allsopp & Sons, of Burton-on-Trent, the

wages of women employed in the brewery were fixed by arrangement with the Workers' Union, and a broad comparison between women's and men's wages showed that the former received 31s. per week with 2s. war allowances, and the latter 43s. per week with 5s. war allowances. In the bottling stores, where girls have long been employed, the pre-war rate had been increased 63 per cent. Men in this department were now earning 43s., women 28s. 6d., girls up to 24s. 6d., according to age. A good deal of the work in this department was done on piece rates. The pay of three women was slightly more than that of two men; generally three women did practically the work of two men. Messrs. Ind, Coope gave the same figures for men and women employed by them at Burton. At Romford wages had increased about 25 per cent. and were regulated in accordance with district custom. Women received about 70 per cent. of men's wages, but their standard of output was stated to be only about 50 per cent.

164. Tobacco.—In the Tobacco Trades according to evidence received from Messrs. Lambert & Butler, a branch of the Imperial Tobacco Co., women on women's work such as cigarette making by hand, and packing, were earning from 24s. to 29s. per week. On cigarette-making by machinery, women were earning up to 45s. on piece-work compared with 84s. the maximum for men, the men acting as supervisors. This work was previously done by men only. The average rate for unskilled men had risen from 25s. to 53s., and for unskilled women from 14s. to 27s. 4d. With regard to cigar-making, Mr. Ben Cooper told the Committee that women now were generally earning from 30s. to £3 a week, while men were earning from £2 to £3 10s., being paid at equal piece-rates. He stated that there were exceptional women who were able to earn as much as the most highly-skilled men. Messrs. Gallaher, of Belfast, stated that wages had been advanced on an average 110 per cent. over pre-war rates.

165. Paper and Printing Trades.—A few manufacturers were controlled under the Munitions of War Act as producing packings for ammunition, but no Statutory Orders were applied. Some substitution took place in the manufacture of *Paper*, and in certain cases war wages were awarded in arbitration by the Committee on Production. The Committee on Women in Industry received no details as to the rates of wages in the manufacture of paper. According to the evidence of the Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades in the United Kingdom, female labour replaced the male in semi-skilled or unskilled work to a slight extent in the *Printing Trade* and the rule had been established "men's work, men's wage." This, they said, was established with the avowed object on the part of the Unions of eliminating female competition, the problems of demarcation between men and women in the printing trade having always been somewhat acute. War advances roughly amounted to 100 per cent. The Federation stated that the advances had generally been given by agreement and as a result of competition for labour with the munition trades. In the Leeds district, in the limited number of cases in which the Cutters' Union agreed to the employment of women as a temporary measure of dilution, the wages were fixed at about two-thirds of the men's wages by agreement with the men. The women were, however, afterwards withdrawn. In the Manchester district in the printing and binding departments the minimum wages of men were 70s. weekly. The employers stated that although an agreement on the question of substitution of women for men in the printing trade was arrived at under the auspices of the Home Office, it proved impossible

in practice to work it, although women were suitable for certain branches of the trade. The wages of women on women's work were by an agreement based on the following scale:—1st year, 9s. per week; 2nd year, 12s.; 3rd year, 16s.; 4th year, 20s.; 5th year, 24s.; the minimum after five years' apprenticeship being 28s. per week. The women and girls in Manchester are mainly members of the Manchester and Salford Society of Women Employed in Bookbinding and Printing Trades, which is one of the few purely feminine Trade Unions in the country. In Scotland also the employers stated that there had been very little dilution, although there are Scottish agreements which allow for the introduction of women where the necessity is proved and no male labour is available. In some cases men's wages are paid to women doing men's work. In others they have received the men's piece rate, and in others again, special rates have been agreed upon. War advances are roughly about 50 per cent. of the men's advances. They have been settled generally by agreement and occasionally by arbitration. There has been no substantial alteration in the relation of wages between women and men. Before the war the ratio was as 18s. is to 32s. 6d. The Bookbinding section of the London Chamber of Commerce quoted an agreement made between them and the London branch of the National Union of Bookbinders on 1st November, 1916, by which women may replace men to the extent of 10 per cent. on certain operations, the women so introduced to be paid at the minimum rate of 5d. per hour for the first three months, 6d. per hour for the next six months, and 7d. per hour thereafter. A few firms have taken advantage of the substitution scheme. In London, women's wages on women's work have advanced 120 per cent. and men's wages 100 per cent., women now receiving 37s. on their own work to the men's 70s. These wages have been settled by agreement. The minimum rate for women under the Paper Box Trade Board (Great Britain) rose from 3d. to 5½d. and the rate for men from 6d. to 9d. The corresponding figures for Ireland were 5d. and 8d.

166. Wood Trades.—In the Wood and Furnishing Trades most of the women were drawn into munitions work and their wages were determined by Statutory Orders. In the London furniture trade a minimum rate of 30s. per week for women carpet planners and sewers with four years' experience was agreed upon in December, 1918.

167. China and Earthenware Trades.—A few firms in this industry engaged on the manufacture of insulators and electrical porcelain have been controlled by the Ministry of Munitions and their women's wages have been regulated by Statutory Orders. There have also been agreements, commencing in April, 1915, between the Manufacturers' Association and the Amalgamated Society of Male and Female Pottery Workers. In the first of these it was provided that women engaged during the war on work which had been generally regarded by the trade as essentially man's work, when employed at the same work and in the same way, should be employed at the same prices and under the same conditions. Agreements also provided for war advances, which in November, 1918, had amounted to 60 per cent. (20 per cent. incorporated in wages and 33½ per cent. on gross wages) to both women and men. Apart from this, employers stated that the minimum time rate for the woman worker had, in certain cases, been improved in excess of the 20 per cent. addition. This received corroboration from the Trade Union representative, Mr. Clowes. For instance, women placers, receiving 12s. 6d. before the war, had had their rate raised to a minimum of 18s. a week for the first six months and 20s. after, and the 33½ per

cent. advance had been granted on this and not on a 15s. basic rate, bringing up the present wage to 26s. 8d., the amount quoted by one representative of the Staffordshire Potteries Association. Another representative, speaking on behalf of the electrical fittings branch, stated that placers, fettlers and warehouse women were getting about 28s. a week. Another employer put the warehouse women's rate considerably lower—at 16s. plus the 33½ per cent. advance—and this was the minimum according to an agreement (25/3/18) put in by the Workers' Society. Women placers on munition work were more favourably placed and would get 32s. 8d. under the Statutory Orders. All the above were time rates. On piece rates, which had been partly introduced for placers during the war and which were general in most processes in the trade, women on women's work made higher earnings.

With regard to women on men's work, it was stated by one representative of the employers that in the operations on which women had come into supplement male labour, viz., casting, dipping, saucer-making and printing, women generally earned 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. less than men on piece-work. The difference appears to have been less, viz., 25 per cent., in the electrical fittings branch. Another stated that on turning insulators a woman would earn 36s. at prices on which men would earn 65s., but the insulators were smaller. Where women did machine turning and men hand turning the wages of the former were 30 per cent. less; the machine work was inferior. Generally, comparison was difficult, because the women, according to the employers, were very rarely employed during the war at the same work and in the same way as the men they had replaced. Hence there was some complaint on the part of the Trade Union that the terms of the April, 1915, agreement had not been fulfilled, in that equal piece rates for men and women on the same work were by no means invariably given. One employers' representative stated that approximately the same prices were paid to women as to men in saucer-making and printing, and another that the same piece prices were paid in pressing in the glazed tile branch. The question of equal time rates did not, according to Mr. Clowes, arise. Some women on time rates had replaced men as placers, but it was recognised that they did lighter work. The Trade Union required two women to be employed for every man displaced. After paying the women the rates given above, the remaining balance on the oven assessment had to be paid to the men and this balance was not to be decreased if the women were paid above the minimum rates. As a result, the women earned about half of what the men did; some of the employers thought this unfair. Generally, women's earnings had gone up compared with those of men during the war. Apart from the evidence as to average earnings already quoted, it was stated that in the *Scottish Stoneware* trade women were earning from 22s. 6d. to 29s. for a 57 hour week, not taking into consideration women turners who were getting an average of 39s. 4d. on men's piece rates. In the *Scottish General Earthenware* Trade women's earnings averaged 13s. 2d. a week to mould runners (presumably young girls), 21s. 10d. to dippers, 28s. 11d. to flat-makers and 44s. to hand casters. During the war a National Council was established for the pottery industry and it has a special Wages and Conditions Committee. The evidence taken by the Committee on Women in Industry would seem to indicate that the National Council has no easy task in front of it.

168. Leather Trades.—In the heavy branch of the *Tanning* Industry according to a representative of the United Tanners' Federation,

the following were the average wages paid in the last two years to women over 18:—

Period.				Piece Workers.	Day Workers.
				£ s. d.	£ s. d.
January to June, 1917	...	...	...	1 6 6	1 0 7
June to December, 1917	...	...	...	1 10 9	1 3 8
January to June, 1918	...	...	...	1 14 9	1 7 3
Since June, 1918	...	...	...	2 0 0	1 13 3

There is a mixture of piece, time and gang work in the trade. The last, which is general in the North, is paid so much a job, the workers dividing the amount between themselves according to an agreed system. Where a woman was earning £1 14s. 9d. the man would be getting £3 6s. 9d. The Trade Unions object to gang work, as the piece master exploits the members of the gang. Sometimes women are employed on the same piece-work as men. They get the same rates. On day-work the ratio of women's to men's pay is as 6d. to 10d., and of the quantity turned out about as 2 is to 3. In the *Light Leather Chrome Tanning* gang work also obtains. According to the evidence of one employer, generally the women get more than the Trade Union rate and a bonus in addition. Another stated that on this work the women got 6d. an hour and the men took the job at piece price. Both agreed that piece-work pay was generally the same for women as for men, but in the straining shop, at any rate, the women earned very much less. On day-work the ratio of minimum rates is as 6d. to 9d. 6d. per hour is the minimum rate fixed for the London area in an agreement of March, 1918, between the employers and the Light Leather Trades Federation for women after six months, 9d. the minimum rate for unskilled men over 21, the semi-skilled rate being 10½d. and the skilled 1s. Girls and boys of 14 start at 3d. per hour and rise ¼d. per hour each six months until 18. Males under 18 and females under 21 are precluded from piece-work. The piece rates, the same for men and women, are fixed so that a man could earn at least 25 per cent. above the day rates. According to the representative of the National Leather Trades Federation, though the piece-work rate is the same, the women have to pay the man who adjusts the machine a certain proportion of their income for the services rendered. The Federation referred to various local agreements entered into during the war which appeared to be on much the same lines as the one of March, 1918, for the London area. In the *Manufacturing* branch of the industry certain firms were controlled as being on munitions work, such as belting and motor accessories. A manufacturing firm that gave evidence before the Committee stated that they made a large amount of equipment and followed the Ministry of Munitions rates of women's wages, the time rates being 1s. per hour for men, 9d. for women and 6d. for girls. By awards of the Committee on Production dated August 12th, 1918, covering practically the whole leather trade and the tanning industry, the 12½ per cent. bonus was granted to male time-workers and 7½ per cent. to male piece-workers. The women in the manufacturing branches received an advance of 5s. in lieu, and in 1918 a further 4s. In 1917 the advance in the tanning industry was 4s.

169. Gas, Water and Electricity.—In *Gas* works only has there been any material substitution of women for men, and this substitution, as explained in the last chapter, was most extensively carried out by the South Metropolitan Gas Company, which employed the women on 8 hour

shifts. In the few cases where the same amount of work was done by women as by the men, the women were paid the same wages, including the 12½ per cent. bonus, which in other trades and industries has been considered exclusively applicable to males over the age of 21. This was the case in machine shift work, charging or discharging machines, where the shift rate was 10s. 5d. as compared with 6s. 6d. before the war. Generally a woman was said to do two-thirds of a man's work and to receive two-thirds of a man's wages. The retort-house women received on this basis 6s. 11d. a shift, amounting to 55s. a week, plus war bonus; if the men had been doing this they would have received 10s. 5d. a shift. In meter reading, where men before the war would undertake 90 houses, the women were limited to 60, and received two-thirds of the men's pay, amounting to 41s. to 46s. a week. Women slot meter collectors received 45s. to 55s., lamp lighters about 48s. 6d., the same as the men. Loading coke and coal and filling coke sacks was paid at piece rates, which were identical for men and women, and the difference in earnings was very slight. In the trimmers' gang, where about 50 women were employed, the earnings were actually equal, and ranged between £4 and £5 a week. War wages have been granted to the men employed by the company amounting to not less than 23s. 6d., and the women have received two-thirds of that.* Labour matters are regulated partly by the Co-partnership Committee, who manage the profit-sharing scheme, and there are women among the delegates elected by the workpeople. The success of woman's work was indicated by the fact that 60 per cent. of the women who started in July, 1915, on the heavier work were still with the company in November, 1918.

170. Transport.—As regards *Railways*, the Committee were informed that the railwaymen were not parties to the Treasury Agreement, but made an agreement of their own with the railway companies in 1915, when no less than 100,000 men had enlisted, that women should take the place of men, under the conditions that nothing should be done to prejudice the re-employment of the men by establishing a precedent for the employment of women, and that the women should receive the minimum rate of the men for the same grade of work. As a result of this arrangement the total number of railwaymen released rose to 190,000—29 per cent. of the total number employed. Under the first three agreements made by the National Union of Railwaymen with the Railway Executive Committee, the women received only 8s. 6d. war bonus, compared with the men's 21s., on the ground that many of the women were the wives or relatives of railwaymen who had enlisted, and were therefore receiving an allowance at the rate of four-fifths of the absent men's wages, but under the last three agreements the women received the same increase in war wage as the men. The women's total war bonus at the end of 1918 was thus 20s. 6d., as compared with 33s. for the men. As a result of the lower total bonus, and of the women not being on the incremental scale, there was a difference in total wages which sometimes amounted to a considerable figure, and seemed an injustice to individual female employees of the railway companies, who claimed, in evidence before the Committee, that they were doing exactly similar work to the men they replaced. In certain cases women received payment in accordance with output. Goods porters working in gangs were sometimes paid a bonus on tonnage handled, *e.g.*, 6d. per ton over a basis weight. This bonus was the same for men and women, but to establish equality for men working in mixed gangs the basis weight,

* The Court of Arbitration awarded, in February, 1919, a further advance to gas-workers of 5s. a week to men and women aged 18 years and over.

according to the evidence of the Railway Executive Committee, was two-thirds of that for a male gang. A mixed gang might consist of one male checker, one male caller-off, and two women porters. A woman goods porter on the Great Northern Railway employed in such a gang, stated that she was receiving 16s. 6d. to 22s. a week less than a man she was working with. Another witness, who had been employed by the Midland Railway for 20 years on french polishing—work that had always been done by men and women—stated that a considerable pre-war difference between the piece-work rates for men and women working on the same job was still maintained. The following statement shows the average weekly earnings on the Great Western Railway in the grades in which men and women were employed jointly, and includes earnings from all sources, such as overtime, tonnage, war bonus, &c.:—

Grade.	Average earnings of men.		Average earnings of women.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Clerks	83	0	40	6
Ticket Collectors	64	5	46	9
Rail Motor Conductors	59	7	48	1
Porters (Passenger)	53	1	43	11
„ (Parcels)	60	3	42	6
„ (Goods)	59	5	46	9
Carmen and Carwomen	65	1	42	5
Checkers	66	9	47	6
Callers Off	66	4	45	3
Timekeepers	—	—	41	6
Carriage Cleaners	60	11	40	10
Lamp Trimmers, &c.	63	9	41	7
Storemen and Storewomen	60	4	40	1
Charwomen	—	—	14	7
Messengers	69	11	40	4

The evidence of the Tramways and Light Railways Association was to the effect that women on *Tramways* generally received the same standing wages as the men, and that as regards war bonus, whereas a few undertakings had paid equal war bonus to men and women, the majority had followed awards given by the Committee on Production, which differentiated in favour of the men. According to the representative of the Municipal Tramways Association, only 12 out of 90 municipal undertakings paid lower basic rates of wages, apart from war bonuses, to women than to men. Mr. A. L. C. Fell, speaking of the London County Council Tramways, stated that there also the conductresses had been paid the same basic rates as the men. There had been a difference in the war bonus, but the latest Award of the Committee on Production entailed that after 12 months' service women received the same bonuses as men. The men had 5s. to 6s. 6d. a day on a rising scale, and in addition a war wage of 5s. a day. The women started at 3s. 4d. a day on appointment and worked up to 5s. at the end of 12 months. In the tramway shops the women had, in most cases, been paid according to Statutory Orders for women on men's work; in other cases they had received the pre-war basic rate of men on the same work, with the women's war wage of 12s. The 12½ per cent. bonus granted to the men in October, 1917, was not extended to women.

Women employed by the London General Omnibus Company as conductors had, by agreement with the London and Provincial Union of Licensed Vehicle Workers, exactly the same hours and conditions as the men. The Award of the Committee on Production which, in August,

1918, gave to women the same total bonus as had been given to men, is referred to in Part I of this Report in connection with the appointment of the Committee on Women in Industry. The wages of the London omnibus conductors in September, 1918, were 11*s.* 5*d.* a day—£3 8*s.* 6*d.* a week. The operating Manager of the London General Omnibus Company stated that the efficiency of the women had decreased with the increase in their wages. He also produced figures to show that the women conductors were costing the General Omnibus Company more than half as much as their wages in loss of takings.

The National Transport Workers' Federation summarised the situation in regard to women's wages during the war under four headings as follows:—

- (1) Some women received exactly the same basic rate of wages as the men and also the same war wage. This method was to be found, for example, in Leicester and on the trams and motor 'buses of the T.O.T. Combine.
- (2) Some women received exactly the same basic rate of wages as the men, but did not receive the same war wage. This system obtained throughout Lancashire.
- (3) Some women received the minimum basic rate of wages that men received, but did not receive the customary grade advances for periods of service, neither did they get the same war wages. This system obtained in Leeds.
- (4) Some women received the same basic rate as the men, but with regard to war wage, this was paid only by quarterly increments to reach the maximum wage in twelve months. This system obtained on the London County Council Tramways.

They stated that employees on tramways were paid either on a day or hourly rate; on 'buses they were paid on the mileage system, that is, they got so much per mile operated with a definite fixed minimum. If the mileage did not equal 7*s.* to the driver, or 6*s.* to the conductor, it was made up to the minimum, the war wages being additional, but they very often earned twice that amount by the mileage operated. War wages had generally been regulated by means of a national arbitration between various bodies of employers and the National Transport Workers' Federation before the Committee on Production. The Federation stated that in insisting upon equal pay for women they were safeguarding the position of the men, knowing the women would be uneconomical to the employer.

171. Agriculture.—According to information communicated by the Board of Agriculture, the demand for women's work in agriculture due to war conditions led inevitably to a somewhat better rate of pay than formerly obtained, but the increases were slow in coming especially in the early days of the war, when many farmers were still asking for woman labour at as low a rate as 15*s.* a week. When the Women's Land Army was established by the Board of Agriculture about the beginning of 1917, it was decided to guarantee a minimum rate of 18*s.* a week to its members. This was later on raised to 20*s.*, and it is interesting to note that the increase did not lead either to the unemployment of Land Army Women, nor to the usual wage of the women remaining at that minimum figure.

At the present time, the minimum wages for women farm workers have been fixed by the Agricultural Wages Board. They vary according to the different districts from 5*d.* to 6*d.* an hour (except in the case of

Northumberland, where the minimum wage is fixed at 22s. 6d. a week) for all women workers over the age of 18. In order to bring the scale of payment to the women of the Land Army into line with that laid down by the Agricultural Wages Board for agricultural female workers, it was decided to increase their minimum wage to 22s. 6d., or to such higher figure as could be earned under the fixed minimum rates. The rates of wages paid to women in different occupations of agriculture at the present time may be given as follows:—

Milkers and dairywomen, 22s. 6d. up to 36s.
 Horsewomen; average wage, 28s.
 Ploughwomen, average wage, 30s.
 Tractor women, average wage, 35s.
 Shepherdesses (a small number), average wage, 24s.
 Forewomen, 35s. up to 40s.
 Trained gardeners, average wage, 40s.

General farm workers are receiving, on an average, 25s. For seasonal work, women in many cases receive the same piece rates as men, but their average earnings may be said to be about 23s.

There is no doubt that in some measure the advance in the wages of women in agriculture is due to the decision to fix the minimum rates for men, for in those counties where a higher wage has been fixed for men, the rate for women is higher also in a somewhat equal proportion. There is a certain danger, according to the Board of Agriculture, in women's work as a cheap form of labour, and this needs careful watching in the interests of all concerned, and not only of the women themselves.

172. Hotels, Public Houses, &c., and Domestic Service.—

The war-time wages of women in this group are outside any sort of State regulation, even in the way of arbitration. But even these wages were strongly affected by the competition of munition work, which proved to be especially attractive to girls in this class of occupation. Mr. Gilmour told the Committee that of 401 girls entering H.M. Factory at Gretna, 145 were previously in domestic service. Mr. W. Henderson Pringle, representing the Interim Industrial Committee for the Catering Industry, stated that practically all the fit men in *Catering* were taken into H.M. Forces and were generally replaced by women in all branches of the industry. He added that both before and during the war wages have been regulated by the law of supply and demand, but that the great change that had been occasioned by the war had been the growth of organisation alike amongst employers and employees. Women cooks earned generally only about half what men earned. Their normal wages ranged about 30s. to 40s. a week. The evidence of Mr. Harry Salmon relating to the refreshment depots conducted by Messrs. J. Lyons & Co., showed that waitresses were still paid at 7s. 6d., with a commission on the takings, but that during the war the firm had agreed that the weekly earnings should not fall below 25s. The wages of counter hands and other classes paid solely on time rates had risen approximately 100 per cent., that is to say, in the case of counter hands, from a pre-war scale of 13s. 6d. to 15s. 6d. to a present range of 22s. 6d. to 30s. The maximum for a manageress had also risen by 100 per cent. and the minimum by over 50 per cent. In the restaurants managed by the same Company the waitresses were similarly paid on commission, with a guarantee of 25s. a week and they earned about 35s. The representatives of the Girls' Friendly Society, speaking of *Domestic Service*, stated that wages generally were now about £6 to £8 a year more than before the war. General servants were being paid £25 to £35; cooks, with help, £32 to

£50, single-handed cooks, £28 to £36; cook-generals, £26 to £35; parlour-maids, £30 to £35; upper housemaids, £28 to £34; single-handed housemaids, £22 to £30. A very much larger proportion of houses in the country employed one general servant. Board wages had risen from about 10s. to about 15s. a week. The Secretary of the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants told the Committee that a girl could now start in service at the age of 15 at £12 or £14 a year, with a stipulated rise of £2 annually, whereas before the war they would start at £8 or £10 a year. With regard to the older servants, their evidence agreed with that of the Girls' Friendly Society.

173. Commercial Occupations.—Sir Woodman Burbidge, General Manager of Messrs. Harrods, gave the following table showing the present weekly wages of men and women in various departments of a large store:—

Department.	Weekly wages (including commission).	
	Men.	Women.
Grocery	60s.	40s. to 45s.
Provisions	60s.	45s. to 48s.
Fish	60s.	40s. to 45s.
Ironmongery, China, Glass	70s. to 80s.	40s. to 50s.
Silver and Plate	80s. to 100s.	50s.
Men's Clothing	80s. to 100s.	50s.
Lift Attendants	35s.	30s.
Van Drivers	45s. to 50s.	40s.
Despatch Clerks	35s.	35s.
Ledger Clerks	55s. to 60s.	55s. to 60s.

He believed this scale to conform to the relative work done efficiently by each sex. He referred to men generally drawing more in the way of commission on sales than did women. The National Union of Shop Assistants, etc., stated that at the beginning of the war the almost universal fear of loss of business had led to the cutting down of wages, and in some cases employers had not even yet reached the pre-war standard. Generally, however, an advance of between 25 per cent. and 50 per cent. had been obtained. An assistant who was previously earning 30s. would now have 45s., or, if living in, the wages, which before the war ranged from 15s. to 20s., would be increased to between 35s. and 40s. weekly. During the last four years in the Grocery Trade women had obtained four-fifths of the men's rates. In other branches the usual pre-war proportion of three-quarters still obtained. The Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees, etc., complained strongly to the Committee that employers were getting more work done by women at less expense to them than that of the men replaced. They stated, however, that war bonuses had generally been paid as an addition to the Congress scale already quoted in Chapter II., and that 55 Co-operative Societies had agreed to observe the following conditions of dilution advocated by the Union:—

- (1) That the same base wage be paid to substituted females as to the males they replaced, after one month's probation in the case of females without experience.
- (2) That all females so substituted should become members of a trade union, if not already so.

- (3) That the males whose labour is replaced shall be reinstated as soon as they are able to resume work.
- (4) That steps be taken to secure the due observance of labour and public health laws by the Co-operative Societies employing such substituted labour.

Except for an extension of the probationary period from one month to three, this policy remained as the policy of the Union, and they had steadily refused to submit it to any form of arbitration. With regard to war bonuses, in a large number of cases the substituted women received only the permanent women's bonus, but the base wage of the men. The Union had, however, in most cases, secured the same war bonus for juveniles, male and female. The war bonus paid for the whole of the West Riding was as follows:—

			<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Males aged 21 years and over ...	...	...	22	6
Females aged 18 years and over ...	...	...
Males aged over 18, but under 21 ...	...	...	15	0
Males and Females, 16 to 18 ...	...	...	10	0
Under 16 ...	...	...	8	0

In the Manchester area all juniors received 11*s.* war bonus, but there was a distinction between adult males and females of 7*s.* per week. In August, 1918, strike notices were handed in over the whole of the West Riding, to enforce, among other things, the payment of the male rates to substituted females in Leeds and Halifax, which were the only considerable societies in the district not observing the Union conditions. But the Union were forced to submit the question to the Committee on Production, who ruled on October 2nd "that, in view of the fact that the Government have recently appointed a Committee to enquire into and report on the general question of the relation between men's and women's wages, the Committee make no award on this question."

174. Clerical Work.—Although women clerks working in controlled establishments did not benefit directly by the Statutory Orders regulating wages, the Ministry of Munitions used their influence to bring the clerks' wages up to the standard laid down in their regulations for ordinary women's work, and the pay for the women clerks in routine work in these and private establishments may be taken to have increased from about 20*s.* or 25*s.* weekly in 1914 to 35*s.* or 40*s.* in 1918. The lowest wage for the temporary women clerks in Government Offices in the autumn of 1918 was, after a short probationary period at 35*s.* a week, fixed at 37*s.* 6*d.*, with a 2*s.* 6*d.* increment after a year. Women clerks employed by railway companies had, at the end of 1918, a bonus of 20*s.* 6*d.* weekly against the men's 33*s.*, which would bring their total salaries up to about 45*s.* weekly in comparison with the men's 75*s.* But a figure given by the Great Western Railway representative showed higher average earnings for men and lower for women clerks. A case was quoted of women clerks in the counting-house of a large commercial firm earning approximately the same as the men, namely, 55*s.* to 60*s.* weekly.

The National Union of Clerks had actively endeavoured to enforce the application of the principle of equal pay for men and women clerks, and between July, 1916, and September, 1917, either by agreement or arbitration, secured its introduction in a certain number of firms throughout the country. But, apart from war bonuses, it may be said that the proportion of two to three has been maintained generally as the ratio of the wages of women and men clerks

The organisations of women clerks were strongly in favour of the principle of equal pay, but in the great majority of cases they were unable to enforce it. It was true that the pay of women clerks had risen considerably since 1914, partly owing to the increased cost of living and the general sympathy and support extended to women clerks by the public, and partly owing to the shortage of female labour consequent upon the absorption of large numbers of women in munition works and Government Departments. Where direct substitution has occurred, the woman, except in a few rare instances, had, however, not received a salary approaching the man's, even though she had been engaged on similar duties.

175. National and Local Government.—The wages of women in the service of the *National Government*, other than the wages of those on munitions, were regulated as regards war wages by H.M. Treasury and since the beginning of 1917 by the awards of the Conciliation and Arbitration Board for Government Employees. Adult men and women with ordinary remuneration not exceeding 40s. per week received the following advances:—

—			Date.	Men.	Women.
				s. d.	s. d.
Treasury Circular	...	...	1/7/16	4 0	2 0
Boards Award	...	...	1/1/17	5 0	4 0
Do.	...	...	17/12/17	5 0	3 0
Do.	...	...	1/7/18	5 0	3 6
Do.	...	...	1/11/18	4 0	2 6

War bonuses thus totalled 23s. for men and 15s. for women. Juveniles of both sexes received 11s. 6d. Men whose wages exceeded 60s. per week received 15 per cent., and women 10 per cent. up to £250 per annum, and a decreasing percentage above that salary.

This scale applied in the Post Office as well as in the Civil Service generally. The Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association informed the Committee that women engaged temporarily were at first paid the minimum scale of their grade, but subsequently received a special war wage. The minimum wage of 35s. to 40s. a week for the government woman clerk has already been referred to. The minimum for men is 60s. in London, and 57s. elsewhere. Employees on the wages lists of *Local Authorities* have also received war bonuses. The awards of the Committee on Production ran up to 35s. a week for men according to locality. The advances of female workers have followed on the same lines as the Women's Special Tribunal Awards and orders of the Minister of Munitions.

176. Teaching Profession.—The salaries of teachers are fixed by Local Authorities, and there is no uniformity in the scales. No statistics of changes in salary rates since the war are available, though it is understood that in all cases Local Authorities have granted either war bonuses or permanent increases of pay. According to information in the possession of the Board of Education the salaries of teachers in elementary schools in England and Wales showed an increase at the end of 1918 of 44 per cent. on the rates in force in July, 1914.

In the spring and early summer of 1918, when the London County Council were considering a scale of salaries for teachers, the principle

of "equal pay for equal work" was strongly urged by a large proportion of women teachers. This principle assumed basically that the duties of men and women teachers were interchangeable. In their revised scale the Council did not seek to apply it, and it would appear therefore, that they were not convinced of its applicability. In 1904 the scale that had been adopted by this body showed a proportion of 3 to 4, in the amount of the women teachers' salaries as compared with the men's. The revised scale for London, which came into force on 1st April, 1918, makes provision as follows:—

In Elementary Schools Certificated Assistant Masters start at a minimum rate of £120 per annum and proceed by yearly increments first of £10 to £240 per annum, and then by £20 to £300 per annum. The minimum for Certificated Assistant Mistresses is £108 per annum, with annual increments of £7 to £185 per annum and £13 to £225 per annum. In their Secondary Schools the minimum commencing salary of Assistant Masters is £150 per annum, rising by annual increments first of £15 to £300 per annum, and then of £10 to £400; the minimum commencing salary of Assistant Mistresses is £150 per annum, with annual increments of £10 to £270 per annum. The minimum salary for Head Teachers in Grade I Elementary Schools is £200 per annum for men and £151 per annum for women, rising to maxima of £320 per annum and £240 per annum respectively. In the Grade II and III schools with larger accommodation it is proposed that the ultimate minimum salaries shall be £300 per annum and £400 per annum for men and £225 per annum and £300 per annum for women. The respective maxima for the grades are £400 per annum and £550 per annum for men and £300 per annum and £400 for women. The increments are so arranged that the maximum for each grade can be reached with about 8 years' service.

From the above rates it will be apparent that the Council kept in view the proposition that the women teachers' salaries should be three-quarters of the men's. Apart from this revised scale a war bonus of 15 per cent. is paid to all permanent teachers. The scales for London may be taken as considerably in excess of those in other parts of the country.

An award of the Conciliation and Arbitration Board gave war bonuses to Irish National teachers to the amount of £32 10s. per annum for men and £26 per annum for women. Previously the war bonuses had been equal.

177. General Rise in Women's Wages.—A comparison between the general level of women's wages, as indicated in this chapter, with that prevailing before the war, as shown in Chapter II, makes evident how far-reaching are the changes involved. The "Labour Gazette," of January, 1919, points out that whereas the total weekly advance to workers in industry amounted to less than £400,000 in the five years 1910-1914, in 1915-1916 (two years) it reached about £1,300,000 in 1917 £2,307,000, and in 1918 £2,783,000, or close on £145,000,000 a year affecting between five and six million persons. The pre-war average of women's wages was estimated in Chapter II on a liberal basis at 3d. an hour, or 13s. 6d. a week. In the metal trades, by the end of 1918, the rate was approximately doubled, and the average earnings, including war wages, practically trebled. It is probable that the average of women's earnings over the whole field of industry proper were towards the end of the war nearer 35s. than 30s. weekly. There were approximately one million women employed on munitions work, and their minimum rate, exclusive of all overtime, night work, and excluding balances made on piece, premium bonus or bonus on output,

was 33s. a week towards the end of 1918. Against this are to be set the women's trades, such as millinery and dressmaking, which felt comparatively little influence from the war conditions, though even the Trade Board minima rose considerably during the war. On the other side, there were large numbers of women, *e.g.*, those in the transport trades, who replaced men at the men's rates and were generally earning more than the munition workers. Even in a trade apparently out of the main stream of munitions' influence, such as cigar-making, the earnings of women now are estimated by the Trades' Union as being between 30s. and £3 a week.

According to the estimates of witnesses, the average earnings of women at present may thus be graded roughly according to occupation:—

Earning under 25s. weekly:—

Dressmakers, milliners (first five years), laundry workers, pottery workers (most grades), knife girls and kitchen hands in refreshment houses.

Earning between 25s. and 30s. weekly:—

Cutlery workers, soap and candle makers (unskilled), corner tenters (cotton), woollen and worsted weavers, backwashers (Scotch Tweed), dyers and cleaners, biscuit makers, cigarette makers, pottery workers (certain grades), waitresses in refreshment depots.

Earning between 30s. and 35s. weekly:—

Ammunition makers (women's work), chainmakers, salt packers, fine chemical workers, soap makers (most operations), card-room operatives (cotton), clothing machinists, workers in grain-milling and brewing, cigar makers, shop assistants (co-operative).

Earning between 35s. and 40s. weekly:—

Workers in the light casting trade, chemical labourers, big tenters and ring-spinners (cotton), wool-combers, tailoring fitters and cutters, boot operatives, bakery workers, jigger women in potteries, tanners, shop assistants (large stores).

Earning between 40s. and 45s. weekly:—

Workers in engineering, chemicals (shift work) and explosives; textile dyers, tobacco machinists, motor drivers (for shop), railway carriage cleaners, telephonists, railway clerks.

Earning between 45s. and 50s. weekly:—

Cloth lookers (cotton), hosiery machinists, web dyers, gas index readers and lamplighters, railway porters, ticket collectors, telegraphists.

Earning between 50s. and 60s. weekly:—

Ledger clerks, Civil Service clerks (Class I).

Earning over 60s.:—

Women on skilled men's work in engineering, omnibus conductors (London), gas workers (heavy work for South Metropolitan Gas Co.).

The two lowest grades represent mainly feminine occupations, the three highest are almost entirely men's work, and the middle grades represent mainly occupations in which both sexes are engaged.

178. General Relation between Men's and Women's and between Women and Girls' Wages.—The relation between the average wages of women and men, which the Committee estimated to have been somewhat less than one-half in 1914, would now appear to be

rather more than two-thirds. Even in the National Shell and Projectile Factories, where a large number of highly-skilled men enter into the comparison, the proportion is more than half. Since that return was made there have been two advances of 5s. granted to women which must have made a considerable reduction in the disparity. In the National Filling Factories the proportion between male and female filling operatives is almost exactly two-thirds. The weight of evidence by employers was to the effect that this proportion closely represented the relative value of male and female labour in such industrial operations as are suitable for both sexes. As a general rule the disparity is greatest in the skilled male crafts such as the metal trades, where the services of women are generally subordinate and ancillary, and least in the trades in which both sexes are engaged, where men and women are organised in joint Unions and rise or fall together. Thus, in brassfounding men appear to earn more than twice as much as women, but in the hosiery trade women earn more than four-fifths of men's wages.

We have seen that the latest agreements of the pre-war era, and some of as late a date as November, 1915, treated women and girls on a parity with youths and boys, grading them up from 7s. a week at 14 to 13s. at 18, and then on up to 16s. at 21. The Statutory Orders in dealing with girls generally gave them $\frac{1}{2}$ d. an hour, or 2s. a week less than adults for each year of age below 18 and gave them half the adult's war wage. The adoption of 18 as the dividing age was of importance in view of the fact that more women are "occupied" between the ages of 18 and 21 than at any other age. 18 became the age at which arbitrators generally treated women as full wage earners.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the facts now under consideration belong to a region of artificial conditions. Political economy has been "banished to Saturn." While the country has been spending borrowed money in profusion, the ordinary factors that regulate wages have been in abeyance. Almost the whole body of industry has been working more or less directly on output, the price of which has been governed, not by ordinary competitive conditions, but by the prices of Government contracts, while the raw materials were never open to the free working of the laws of supply and demand. Employers, therefore, from the first were not able to pursue their usual practice of regulating their wages bills on a strict cost basis. Under ordinary conditions an employer determines the margin which may be allowed for wages cost, direct and indirect, and wages are largely regulated in accordance with that margin. The attention of the whole country was devoted to one end—the maximum output of required munitions. At first contractors had to be tempted to abandon their usual lines of manufacture and to undertake risks in order to convert their peace-time trade into war manufacture. Gradually the Contracting Departments were able, in the case of many commodities, to ascertain costs with some exactitude and, on such products as ammunition, prices were cut fine, but this was never the case with other commodities. In some supplies cost for labour and material were so incalculable that to the last Government Departments were compelled to place contracts on the cost and percentage system. It is evident that in such cases the economic motive largely disappeared from the regulation of wages. In the later stages of the war, as has been already explained, the Contracting Departments were compelled to undertake directly the extra cost entailed by advances in wages, partly because they found their contractors allowing excessive margins to cover such increased cost.

It is impossible, therefore, to assert that the improvement in the position of women in industry has been due to causes of such a nature as can be expected to endure. The closer approximation to the wages of men has mainly resulted from Government interference. Had the ordinary law of supply and demand been left to work freely, it is possible that the disparity between the wages of men and women would have increased rather than diminished with the decreasing supply of skilled men. This is shown by the experience of the Ministry of Munitions. Section 7 of the Munitions of War Act, 1915, provided that no worker might be employed in a munitions factory without a leaving certificate given by the previous employer if he or she had previously been employed on munitions, and while this was in force the most essential skilled tradesmen had no power to sell their labour in the dearest market, while the Ministry of Munitions, under Section 4 (2) of the same Act, had power to withhold sanction from any proposal for a change in the rate of wages, salary or other emoluments of any class of persons employed in a controlled establishment, other than a change for giving effect to any Government conditions as to fair wages, or an agreement between the employer and the workpeople made prior to the passing of the Act. These two provisions kept the wages in munitions works artificially level. When, however, Section 7 was repealed in August, 1917, and the labour market once more became comparatively free, skilled labour tended to reach the price of a scarce and essential commodity, and it was found in practice impossible to maintain the regulation of wages contemplated in Section 4 (2). There is little reason to support the belief that under free competition the relation between men's and women's wages would have changed during the war period as quickly as it did under State regulation.

179. Regulation of Wages by Statutory Orders.—This regulation, so far as it was carried out through the Statutory Orders of the Ministry of Munitions, has already been described in detail, and reference has just been made to Section 4 (2) of the Munitions of War Act, 1915. If, under this Section, the Minister of Munitions withheld his consent to any proposal by a controlled establishment to increase wages or salaries, the matter might be referred for settlement by arbitration. The purpose of this Section was, no doubt, primarily to control the disbursement of profits by a controlled establishment subject to the Munitions Levy. It was probably intended also to limit unfair competition for labour between establishments engaged on equally essential munitions work. The Committee received no direct evidence as regards the effect of this Section upon women's wages, but it seems clear that it would have the effect of standardising wages, and that under it the Department which had issued an Order stating that the wages of women on men's work should be so much per hour would be precluded from consenting to higher payments unless special circumstances could be shown. It was under Section 6, of the Amendment Act of 1916 that the Statutory Orders were issued, and that Section provides that the Minister of Munitions should have power to give directions as to the rate of wages where female workers are employed on, or in connection with, munitions work in any establishment of a class to which the provisions of Section 7 of the principal Act were for the time being applied by an Order made thereunder. Similar powers were granted to the Minister of Munitions in the case of men, but no attempt was made to regulate men's wages on the same elaborate scale. In the case of men, the Ministry of Munitions laid down in

Circular L.3. the terms upon which semi-skilled and unskilled men might be employed on the manufacture of shells, fuzes and cartridge cases, and provided for the setter-up an increment of 5s. a week (10s. on fuzes) above the skilled man's rate for this particular duty; but the only other use of this power in the case of men was made in the issue of the 12½ per cent. bonus, and later on in compulsorily applying the awards of the Committee on Production to the non-federated firms in a trade or industry which had received such awards.

The Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, passed on 21st November, 1918, transferred to the Ministry of Labour the control of wages previously exercised by the Minister of Munitions, and prescribed generally that the existing rates should continue for a further six months. In the case of women whose wages were not determined by Statutory Orders, the prescribed rates were to be the wages paid by employers employing a majority of women or girls engaged on the same class of work, unless some other rate was fixed by the Minister of Labour on the advice of an interim court of arbitration. There was a proviso that where a woman or girl was employed on work of a class which before the war was customarily done by men, the prescribed rate should be the rate payable to women and girls employed on such work at the date of the armistice.

180. Regulation of Wages by Arbitration.—The machinery of arbitration was set up in Part I of the Munitions of War Act, 1915. Arbitration was compulsory, strikes and lock-outs were forbidden, and differences were to be referred to one of the three following Arbitration Tribunals:—

- (a) The Committee on Production.
- (b) A single arbitrator to be agreed upon by the parties, or, in default of agreement, appointed by the Board of Trade; or
- (c) A Court of Arbitration consisting of an equal number of persons representing employers and persons representing workmen, the Chairman appointed by the Board of Trade.

The powers of the Board of Trade passed to the Ministry of Labour. The type of Court contemplated under (c) does not appear to have materialised, but the wages of women were especially entrusted under Section 8 of the Munitions of War (Amendment) Act, 1916, to the Special Arbitration Tribunal on Women's Wages, who were constituted a third Arbitration body. The Special Arbitration Tribunal normally consisted of two employers, two representatives of male labour, and two women, with an official chairman and vice-chairman. Throughout the whole period of its existence, Miss Susan Lawrence, and Mrs Streetfeild were the women's representatives on the Tribunal, originally presided over by Mr. (now Sir) Lynden Macassey. The Committee on Production did not generally deal with women's wages in cases where they were under the direct or indirect supervision of the Ministry of Munitions. Thus they seldom or never dealt with the wages of women in the engineering trades, but in other trades, and in the case of women employed as clerks, &c., by public authorities, the awards of the Committee on Production frequently included women. The same is generally true of the awards of the single arbitrators who worked under the direction of the Chief Industrial Commissioner. A fourth arbitration body was the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for Government Servants, constituted on December 21st, 1916, under the chairmanship of Sir William Collins "to deal by way of conciliation or arbitration with questions arising with regard to claims for

increased remuneration (whether permanent or temporary owing to war conditions) made by classes of employees of Government Departments other than classes of employees who were engaged wholly or mainly by way of manual labour of a kind common to Government and other employment." The more highly paid classes of employees of any Government Department, *viz.*, those with salaries of £500 or over, or placed on scales of salaries rising to £500 or over, were excluded from the province of this Board. They made numerous awards, the majority of them relating to war bonuses for employees of the Post Office and other Civil Departments to which reference has already been made. The Board declined to establish any fixed relation of a permanent character between the wages of men and women pending the report of the Committee on Women in Industry.

By the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, the Committee on Production was reconstituted as an Interim Court of Arbitration and the Special Arbitration Tribunal on Women's Wages ceased to exist.

181. Regulation of Wages by the Fair Wages Clause.—The war did not make any alteration in the requirements of the Fair Wages Clause as regards women's wages. But the Assistant Director of Admiralty Contracts told the Committee that he had received only two complaints during the war which related to women's wages, and the representative of the Army Contracts Department also stated that complaints under the Fair Wages Clause were not as frequent during the war as in peace time. It was found much more convenient and quicker to deal with such matters by arbitration under the Munitions Acts than to go to the somewhat laborious method of establishing what was the district rate. It is clear that the Munitions of War Acts largely superseded the Fair Wages Clause as a method of regulating women's wages. But the Temporary Regulation Act may be said to have reinstated the principle of Fair Wages in the case of women. It has already been noted that the application of this principle has been generally less effective in the case of women's wages than in that of men's wages.

182. Regulation of Wages by Trade Boards.—The increase during the war in the minimum rates determined by the Boards set up in eight trades in Great Britain under the Trade Board Act of 1909, and the provisional orders confirmed by the Act of 1913, have been mentioned under the heading of these trades. During the latter part of the war the effects of the minimum rates were obscured by the general advances in wages due to the acute shortage of labour and to the great increase in the cost of living. The Trade Boards for a long time abstained from raising the minimum rates in proportion to this cost, as they were unable to grant war bonuses as such, and therefore felt that they ought to base the minimum rates on normal and not on the prevailing abnormal conditions. A natural consequence of this was that the workers in certain trades appealed to the Committee on Production for war advances, while in other cases the workers were able to take advantage of the position to negotiate with the employers for the payment of advances on the legal minimum rates. In the case of a number of controlled establishments making munitions, the bonuses, then amounting to 6s. a week for women, prescribed by the Orders of the Ministry of Munitions, were enforced, but the general Orders of the Ministry were not given effect to in establishments (or

departments of establishments) governed by minimum rates fixed by a Trade Board. As a result of the circumstances related above, the prescribed rates under the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act are in various cases higher than the minimum rates under the Trade Boards Acts, though in many districts wages are still being paid for certain classes of work at more than the Trade Board minimum rate; and in some industries, *e.g.*, the laundry industry, the prevailing rates are less than the minimum rates fixed by the principal Trade Boards.

Towards the end of the war the prospects of serious dislocation of industry on the demobilisation of the Army and the discharge of the munition workers rendered necessary, in the opinion of the Minister of Labour, the provision of machinery for regulating wages in the less organised industries, particularly those in which women were largely employed, as it was foreseen that there would be a strong tendency towards a severe fall in wages when the women who had been employed on war work sought to resume their previous occupations. It was considered that Trade Boards would supply the necessary machinery, but the procedure (by Provisional Orders confirmed by Act of Parliament) for applying the Trade Boards Act to additional trades was a slow one, and the limitation to trades where the rates of wages were exceptionally low prevented the extension of the benefits of the Act to any except the very worst paid trades and would therefore have very seriously restricted the utilisation of Trade Boards for the purpose contemplated. Moreover, the procedure for fixing minimum rates by a Trade Board, when formed, was also very slow, and in particular it was felt that the period of six months' limited operation, during which contracting-out was allowed, would render the benefit of a minimum rate almost nugatory just at the time when its protection was most needed. Accordingly, an amending Act was passed in August, 1918, with a view to removing these defects and also strengthening the provisions of the principal Act in other directions. It substantially increased the powers of the Trade Boards with regard to the fixing of minimum rates, and authorised a Trade Board to make recommendations to any Government Department with regard to the industrial conditions of the trade, and the Department to which a recommendation is made is required to take it into consideration forthwith. This is a step in the direction of widening the functions of Trade Boards, so that they should be able to perform, as far as practicable in the circumstances, the functions performed in more highly-organised industries by the Joint Industrial Councils, as recommended by the Sub-Committee of the Reconstruction Committee referred to below.

Since the passing of the new Act, Orders have been made establishing Boards for the Tobacco and Aerated Water Trades, and the necessary 40 days' notice has been given of the intention to establish Boards for Rope, Twine and Net; Paper Bag; Boot and Shoe Repairing and Laundries. Negotiations are proceeding with regard to thirteen other trades and enquiries are being pursued with reference to a further thirty-two. But the process takes time. Careful investigation and enquiries have to be made as to the branches of work and classes of workpeople that are to be covered by an order and difficulties as to demarcation and definition have to be got over by negotiation with bodies representing employers and workpeople in the trade. Then comes the formation stage when regulations under which the Board will act are framed and the members are selected. Eventually the Boards get to work on the determination of rates.

183. By Joint Industrial Councils.—The establishment of Joint Standing Industrial Councils was recommended in a Report, dated 8th March, 1917,* of a Sub-Committee of the Reconstruction Committee appointed under the Chairmanship of Mr. J. H. Whitley, M.P., to make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed. The Councils were intended to continue after the war the co-operation of all classes established during the war, and their proposals were to offer to workpeople the means of attaining improved conditions of employment and a higher standard of comfort generally. The Councils were to be created in the first instance in the main industries in which there existed representative organisations on both sides and were to be composed of representatives of employers and employed, regard being paid to the various sections of the industry and the classes of labour engaged. They were to create District Councils and Works Committees to meet regularly and to secure co-operation by granting to workpeople a greater share in the consideration of matters affecting their industry. They were to deal with a number of subjects, including conditions of employment, wages, security of earnings and employment, &c. A subsequent Report dealt with the case of the less well organised industries and a joint memorandum of the 7th June, 1918,† by the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Reconstruction contemplated a system for the future regulation of industry in which Industrial Councils were to legislate for the more highly organised industries and Trade Boards for the less organised.

In certain trades, the Joint Industrial Councils have already taken decisions affecting the wages of women. According to information received from the Ministry of Labour, the following are instances:—

In the *China Clay* trade, the Council have fixed rates of wages for time and piece workers for the war period on the basis of a 46 hour week. Women are to receive the same piece work rates as men and a proportionate war increase. The Northern Counties District Council for the *Wool and Allied Textile Trades* have agreed to increase the existing war wage from 104½ per cent. to 107 per cent. and other percentages and amounts in proportion. In the *Hosiery Trade*, an additional bonus of 1½d. in the 1s. making a total of 6½d. was agreed to in December, 1918. In the *Baking Trade*, it was agreed that women workers should receive a corresponding percentage advance to that of the male workers on present rates subject to the terms of existing local arrangements. The Council for the *Furniture Trades* referred the following Resolution to the National Conciliation Board for consideration:—

“That this Council endorses the policy of restoration of pre-war labour conditions on the termination of hostilities particularly with reference to instances where women have been placed on work hitherto executed by men, and advises that steps be taken to prepare for the resumption of normal conditions at a date to be mutually agreed by the Council.”

The National Conciliation Board Interim Report also came to an agreement as to the standard rates to be paid in the *London Upholstery Trade* for men and women. In the *Bobbin and Shuttle Making Trade*, minimum rates of 60s. for skilled men and 25s. 6d.

* Cd. 8606. † Cd. 9085

for women were fixed on the basis of a 50 hour week. A further demand by the workers to increase the minimum for women to 45s. and reduce the hours to 40 per week failed to find agreement and was referred to the Ministry of Labour for settlement under the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act of 1918. In the *Match Trade*, a 47 hour week without reduction in weekly earnings was agreed to for men and women. In the *Rubber Trade* rates for piece and time workers were settled, though the employers on the Council made some difficulty about the inclusion of women under the phrase "time workers," as they had not been specifically mentioned. In the *Paint, Colour and Varnish Trade*, an advance of 5s. was granted through the Council to men and women over 18 with proportionate advance to piece workers.

The majority of the Councils have already formed Committees to deal with health and conditions of work in their trades and several of them have been consulted by the Demobilisation and Resettlement Department on the prospects of the employment of women. The Ministry of Labour express the belief that the Industrial Councils will exercise a considerable effect upon the position of women in industry through the establishment of Works Committees in the individual workshops on which women will have a voice in regulating and improving conditions for female labour. It has, however, to be borne in mind that in the well organised industries, which are mainly governed by Joint Industrial Councils and Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committees, the women are frequently employed only in an auxiliary capacity and are not themselves separately organised. In such cases, though a considerable number may be concerned, there may be no immediate prospect of their direct representation. It is thus conceivable that women falling under the Joint Industrial Councils may find their interests less efficiently safeguarded than if they were under a Trade Board and this is a point which may be commended to the attention of the Ministry of Labour.

184. Regulation of Wages by Collective Bargaining.—One of the most conspicuous features of the war period has been the growth in organisation both among employers and employed. Trades such as chemicals, explosives, rubber, brick and clay have formed employers' associations or federations in the course of the war, largely in order to deal with problems arising out of wages, and in other cases federations which previously did not deal with wages have been compelled to do so. But it is rather in the strengthening of existing associations and federations of employers that the war has had its most marked effect. On the other side also a powerful impetus has been given to the organisation of women in Trade Unions. According to figures supplied by the Ministry of Labour, there were, at the end of 1917, nearly 660,000 female members of Trade Unions in the United Kingdom against some 350,000 before the war. The National Federation of Women Workers claim a membership of between 60,000 and 70,000 women, the majority of them being munition workers. The National Union of General Workers also claim 60,000 women among their 350,000 members; the National Amalgamated Union of Labour have about 20 per cent. women in their total membership of 176,000; the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union have about 150,000 members including a large number of women—8,000 tobacco workers and about 3,000 chocolate workers; the Workers' Union claim to have more than 60,000 female members; the National

Warehouse and General Workers' Union upwards of 10,000. But, as before, the great bulk of organised women are to be found in the textile trades—approximately 350,000. The National Union of Railwaymen have admitted at least 30,000 women. The Committee are not aware of any case outside transport in which Trade Unions previously confined to men have admitted women to membership. The question is understood to have been mooted by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, but the exclusion of women has hitherto been based upon a demarcation of skill rather than of sex. A small new union was formed within the engineering trade by the Society of Women Welders, which may prove to be a pioneer of skilled craft unionism among women. It is, of course, too early at present to say whether the extension of trade unionism among women which has been caused by the war will be permanent or not. It seems probable that a decline will follow the cessation of munitions work.

The many agreements, based on the Treasury Agreement, which were entered into as a result of collective bargaining during the war have already been referred to under the headings of the different trades.

185. General Observations on War Advances.—We have now seen how the wage question during the war was complicated by the ever increasing cost of living. At first employers met the claims of their workpeople for war bonuses locally and sectionally. In some cases the demands of the workers resulted in percentage advances, which naturally gave the greater increase to the better-paid classes of workpeople. In others the contrary principle was followed, as in the awards of the Conciliation and Arbitration Board for Government employees, of giving the higher bonuses to the lower-paid workpeople. Many private employers sought to obtain some compensation for the advances by attaching to them conditions relating to timekeeping or output. In a few cases an attempt was made, chiefly by local authorities, to recognise the increased responsibilities of married men, and in one case, at least, the Ministry of Munitions were asked to sanction a bonus graduated according to the size of the employee's family. In the earlier stages war wage claims by the Trade Unions almost invariably asked for lower advances to women than to men. Quite frequently women were classed with youths and boys. It was only in the later stages, when the women's demand for equality became more audible, that some of the general Unions, such as the Workers' Union, made it a principle to ask for the same war wage advances for women and for men. In his evidence before the Committee Sir George Askwith, speaking of arbitration following on an endeavour to arrive at an agreement by conciliation, pointed out that the awards of arbitrators were not generally founded upon preconceived principles. He explained that conciliation was the general function of the Chief Industrial Commissioner's Department, and that each case was dealt with in accordance with its own particular circumstances, the object usually being to bring the parties concerned to an agreement satisfactory to both. In cases where definite decisions were given by arbitration it would generally be the case that the arbitrator was only deciding a small balance of difference between the parties. It is, therefore, vain to look for any settled principle in the awards which followed attempts to arrive at agreements by conciliation during the war period, and, indeed, it is not easy to arrive at an absolutely fair principle even

by deductive reasoning. On the one hand it would seem fair that a cost of living advance should be higher for the lower-paid worker, assuming his responsibilities to be equal, inasmuch as his margin for economies is less. On the other hand the more highly-paid man points out that his scale of living is not capable of immediate reduction and that his expenses are higher. Attempts to discriminate between one class of workpeople and another generally failed. The workpeople's representatives were not prepared to admit that the whole case for increase of wages, as presented by them, rested upon the increased cost of living. They were demanding and, in their opinion, receiving, absolute betterment.

In the early part of 1917, as has been shown above, a more regular system was developed under the Committee on Production for a periodical determination of cost-of-living advances. In their awards they always stated that the advances were intended to *assist* in meeting the increased cost of living and were to be recognised as due to and dependent on the existence of the abnormal conditions then prevailing in consequence of the war. These advances generally took the form of a war wage at a flat rate of 3s. or upwards, calculated upon the normal week, and the same amounts were given to piece-workers over and above their piece-work earnings. Workpeople were not willing to accept a differentiation of the advances according to the number of their children or other dependants. In their view, it was not for the employer or the arbitrator to concern himself with the domestic affairs of the worker. The cases were generally argued on the basis of cost of living and reference was frequently made to the figures published monthly in the "Labour Gazette," though the workpeople were not disposed to accept those figures as conclusive evidence of the actual rise in cost of living. The rate of advance so determined by the Committee on Production generally began with the engineering trade and was followed in awards to other trades after hearing their circumstances. Such general awards were followed in particular cases by the single arbitrators appointed by the Chief Industrial Commissioner, and even external authorities, such as the Coal Controller and the Railway Executive Committee, may be presumed to have followed the lead of the Committee on Production. In the case of women the Special Arbitration Tribunal had before them the awards of the Committee on Production to men in advising the Minister of Munitions as to the amount of corresponding advances for women. Certain trades determined their own war advances without reference to arbitration by systems of automatic adjustment on sliding scales, either according to cost of living or, in the early years of the war, according to the selling price of the product. These systems appear to have worked smoothly.

186. War Advances in Foreign Countries.—It is interesting to notice the manner in which the same problem of increased cost of living has been met in other countries. In *France* during 1915 and 1916 all claims were dealt with in detail by agreement between the parties immediately concerned and under the benevolent supervision of the local representatives of the Government; during this period the cost of living advances were limited according to earnings, dependants, and other factors; as a rule, only low-paid labour was advanced. In January, 1917, M. Thomas established Conciliation and Arbitration Committees for grouped industries in each industrial region, consisting of representatives of employers and workpeople in equal numbers. These Committees proceed mainly by conciliation and they have carried on the custom of distinguishing cost of living advances according to needs.

The following is a typical award:—

PARIS. 30th November, 1917.
(Engineering, Metallurgy, Carriage-building and Aviation.)

Daily Wage.	Daily bonus awarded.	Fixed maximum, bonus included.
	frs.	frs.
Men—		
Under 10 francs	1.50	11.00
From 10 to 12 francs	1.00	12.50
" 12 " 15 " ... ..	.50	15.00
Women—		
Under 9 francs	1.00	9.50
From 9 to 12 francs ... ..	.50	12.00

The daily wage in such cases usually means a fortnight's average for normal working hours. It will be noted that no advance is given to any man earning over 15 frs. a day, or to any woman earning over 12 frs. a day.

A great many awards take account of the circumstances of work-people, such as the following:—

CREUSOT. 11th December, 1917.

Dependants.	Monthly bonus awarded.
	frs.
1 child under 15	10
2 children under 15	15
3 " " " &c.	20

GRENOBLE. 2nd November, 1917.
(Société Universelle des Explosifs.)

Qualification.	Monthly bonus awarded.
	frs.
i. All men and women	20
ii. Supplements for workmen whose wives are unable to work ...	10
iii. Supplement for women whose husbands are unable to work ...	10
vi. For each child under 14	10
v. For each child over 14 unable to work	10

According to the "Bulletin de la Statistique Générale de France" (July, 1917), average daily wages of men in 38 occupations and women in 7 occupations were as follows:—

	1911.	1916.
Men	4.55 frs.	5.56 frs.
Women	2.21 ,,	2.57 ,,

In *Germany*, from information published in the "Monthly Labour Review" of the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics, it appears

that the following has been the course of average daily wages of adult workers at specified periods up to September, 1917:—

Period.	Average daily wage of	
	Male Workers.	Female Workers.
	Marks.	Marks.
Last two full weeks of March, 1914 ...	5.16	2.29
" " September, 1914 ...	5.12	1.94
" " March, 1915 ...	5.88	2.25
" " September, 1915 ...	6.55	2.55
" " March, 1916 ...	7.00	3.02
" " September, 1916 ...	7.55	3.52
" " March, 1917 ...	9.08	4.06
" " September, 1917 ...	10.79	4.87

Industry.	Average daily wages of Male Workers.		Per cent. of increase.	Average daily wages of Female Workers.		Per cent. of increase.
	March, 1914.	September, 1917.		March, 1914.	September, 1917.	
	Marks.	Marks.		Marks.	Marks.	
Machinery ...	5.32	10.79	102.8	2.28	4.88	114.0
Electrical ...	4.52	10.93	141.8	2.75	6.18	124.7
Iron and Metal ...	5.55	11.81	112.8	2.06	5.67	175.2
Chemical ...	5.14	9.89	92.4	2.36	5.18	119.5
Paper ...	3.93	7.37	87.5	2.15	4.09	90.2
Woodworking...	4.22	7.80	84.8	1.99	3.81	91.5
Food ...	5.70	7.51	31.8	2.10	3.72	71.1
Leather and Rubber...	5.04	7.79	54.6	2.80	4.15	48.2
Earths and Stones ...	4.45	7.07	58.9	1.67	2.87	71.9

The cost of living was, however, considerably higher in Germany than in any of the Allied countries. In its bonuses to officials the German Government also made an elaborate attempt to adapt the bonus to the needs of the recipient; they were scaled according to salary (the higher bonus for the higher salary), with an additional 10 per cent. for each child, but single officials received only 70 per cent. of the bonus payable to the married man of the same grade. An additional 20 per cent. was payable in localities where the cost of living was relatively high. In earlier awards the bonus for children rose for each additional child, *e.g.*, from 10 per cent. for the first to 11 per cent. for the second, and so on. The bonuses granted would appear to range between £25 and £50 per annum.

In *Austria* also the war bonuses were generally graded according to the size of the family. Minimum wages were fixed in May, 1917, for war workers in Vienna: 25s. for women, rising to 29s. 2d. after 6 weeks experience with 41s. 8d. as the minimum for unskilled men.

In the *United States* the bonus to meet increased cost of living for Civil Service employees has been the same for men and women. The Department of Labour (Woman in Industry Service) has issued standards

recommended for the employment of women, of which one section reads as follows:—

1. *Equality with Men's Wages.*—Women doing the same work as men shall receive the same wages with such proportionate increases as the men are receiving in the same industry. Slight changes made in the process or in the arrangement of work should not be regarded as justifying a lower wage for a woman than for a man unless statistics of production show that the output for the job in question is less when women are employed than when men are employed. If a difference in output is demonstrated, the difference in the wage rate should be based upon the difference in production for the job as a whole and not determined arbitrarily.

2. *The Basis of Determination of Wages.*—Wages should be established on the basis of occupation and not on the basis of sex. The minimum wage rate should cover the cost of living for dependents and not merely for the individual.

In actual practice America appears, however, to follow much the same lines as this country in respect of women's wages. Neither in France nor in the United States of America do men and women engaged in semi-skilled or unskilled work in engineering receive the same rate an hour, regardless of output. In an important award of the National War Labour Board in the case of Bridgeport machinists and other employees of August 28th, 1918, the minimum wage for men of 21 years or over was 42 cents per hour and for women, 18 years of age and over, 32 cents per hour. To this award it was added that "where women are employed on work ordinarily performed by men they shall be accorded equal pay for equal work. . . . In all cases where the women perform the same work as men their pay shall be the same." The same award contains a wage adjustment to meet the increased cost of living, which is scaled carefully downwards as the wages ascend. Dr. Royal Meeker, of the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics, has informed the Committee that women often outdo men in quantity and quality of output, while their wages remain lower than the wages of men. "Employers defend this principle on the ground that the work done by women is not the same as the work done by men, although in many instances I was wholly unable to detect these alleged differences." On the whole, it may be said that the experience of neighbouring countries has been somewhat similar to that of Great Britain, but more attempt has been made to adjust war wages to actual needs in France, Germany and the United States of America than in this country.

CHAPTER V.

FUTURE EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES OF WOMEN.

187. Extension of Women's Employment dependent on increased Production.—We have now examined the relative positions of men and women in employment and the relation between their wages before and during the war, as well as the actual conditions of employment and levels of wages of the women, and we come to the consideration of what, by the light of past experience and the lessons of the war, should be the conditions and what the relations to secure the best interests of both sexes, and the progress and well-being of industry in the future.

We have seen that before the war the interests of women suffered from comparative inefficiency lessening the demand and lowering the wages, and that during the war higher wages, resulting from increased demand, raised efficiency. It seems evident that if we are to get for women higher levels of wages in the future than under old conditions it must be both

by increasing the demand and raising the efficiency. The increase in demand, assuming men are not to be displaced, must come in the first instance from greater production. Without entering into abstruse economic questions, it appears to us that a very large increase in the productivity of the country is not only possible but essential for its future well-being. For every person to be properly housed and to have sufficient clothes, boots, food, drink, furniture, utensils, books, &c., sufficient of these commodities for every one must be produced in the country, or as some articles—tea, sugar, silk, &c.—are not producible here, more than a sufficiency of the things that can be produced must be created so that there may be exports to exchange for the required imports.

No redistribution of wealth can in itself create a sufficiency of commodities. There was an insufficiency before the war, and that insufficiency has been greatly increased during the war not only in this country but in the world at large, by the diversion of production away from articles necessary for life and its amenities, and by the waste and quicker consumption of those articles when produced. The necessity for increased production at the present time, if a reasonable standard of comfort is to be created and maintained, is generally accepted, and the question now to be considered is whether the area of woman's work can be widened and the demand for her services enlarged in meeting this necessity.

188. Extension of Employment in Metal Trades.—We have seen that the chief industry in which the employment of women sensibly advanced during the war was what we term the metal trades, including the various classes of engineering. In these trades, including the branches of them carried on in Government establishments, the numbers of women went up from 172,000 to 819,000. This vast expansion was rendered possible by much of the work being of a repetition nature, and that in turn by specialisation in manufacture and standardisation of products. Are standardisation, specialisation and repetition to be leading characteristics of engineering in the future?

On this subject we heard little evidence, but we have studied the reports, as far as they affect these matters, of the Engineering Trades (New Industries) Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction* and of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to consider the Position of the Engineering Trades after the War.† The former Committee looked upon specialisation and standardisation as the principal remedies for the failure of the industry, in some branches of the engineering trades, to keep pace with the up-to-date requirements of their customers:—

“As regards specialisation, the extent to which this should be adopted is clearly dependent on the magnitude of the factory. Large organisations can, no doubt, successfully cope with a considerable variety of work, but the smallest manufacturers should not attempt to range over large sections of the industry, as they do in many cases at present. They should confine themselves to manufacturing a few types of articles which they would then be in a position to bring to a greater state of perfection, and to produce more cheaply. The amount and rate of progress which can be secured by the adoption of such a policy are insufficiently appreciated, as is also the extent to which the position of a firm is thereby strengthened and consolidated.

* Cd. 9226.

† Cd. 9073.

"Specialisation leads directly to standardisation of the product, first, because it is necessary to secure economy of manufacture, and secondly, because the more extended experience with a restricted range of products brings out the best methods of construction and manufacture."

The same report connects repetition work and the employment of female labour with specialisation and standardisation in the following paragraphs:—

"There are two different methods of procedure applicable to engineering work. The first is to execute a piece of work on one or more general purpose machines (according to its intricacy), which are adapted for a large range of work. Each of the machines employed may do a variety of operations on any particular piece of work. The machine has to be adjusted and operated by skilled men, and the accuracy of the work depends almost wholly upon the skill of the operator.

"The second method is to resolve the work to be done into a number of simple operations, and to construct either special machine tools or more or less elaborate jigs and fixtures adapted for each operation and suitable for attachment to standard machines. The operation then becomes to a great extent independent of the skill of the operator; accuracy is obtained by mechanical means, and all that is required is a worker sufficiently trained to give a general superintendence to the working of the machine with the assistance of a skilled operative to replace and adjust the tools at intervals and to deal with any difficulties that may arise.

"It will be obvious, however, that the second method entails a very heavy initial capital outlay to install the requisite special appliances and fixtures. It is, therefore, only practicable to incur this outlay where the article to be made is one of a large number of exactly similar articles, *i.e.*, a repetition job.

"Where, however, such conditions are found, the initial capital cost will be justified by the superior accuracy and economy with which the operations are performed.

"These observations apply not only to machining operations, but also to auxiliary operations, such as stamping, casting, &c.

* * * * *

"While these methods cannot be universally employed, there is no doubt that they could be employed more widely than is the case at present.

"Concentration by each individual manufacturer on a few types of articles with proper standardisation would undoubtedly enable engineering operations to be carried out as repetition work, and would enable not only a large number of highly skilled and highly paid men to be employed on manufacturing the necessary tools and jigs, but it would also enable a number of unskilled and semi-skilled operatives, both male and female, such as those trained in shell work, to be employed at good wages."

Certain classes of holloware, sheet metal and pressed work, of electrical apparatus and machinery, of small tools and scientific apparatus are specially referred to by this Committee as suitable for employing in their manufacture a large proportion of women.

The Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Trade also remark on the economies of standardisation and repetition, and state

that there is no doubt that on light work involving repetition female labour is quite as good as male labour. It seems to them "that the continuance of a certain amount of female labour is both necessary and desirable," though for reasons that militated against women's greater employment in industry in the past, they "do not look upon female labour in the engineering trade as likely to be permanent or that many will be permanently employed."

We do not think that this latter view should be accepted. It seems to us that, as in light work involving repetition in the metal trades, women are less hampered than in many other industrial occupations by the disadvantages of their temporary sojourn in industry and want of training, it is desirable that their wide employment at this work should be made permanent and an increased demand for them thus created, pending the time when improved efficiency will enable them to undertake more skilled forms of industrial labour.

189. Extension of Employment in Non-Metal Trades.—In the meantime our enquiry has not revealed any likelihood of largely extended employment of women in any other single branch of industry proper, though the recently issued Home Office Memorandum on "Substitution of Women in Non-Munition Factories during the War," as well as the evidence taken by us, tend to show that if full advantage is taken of the openings indicated as suitable by war experience, women could come in on a few processes in a number of trades involving a not inconsiderable aggregate of additional employment. In the *Chemical Trades* various light jobs in connection with the manufacture of explosives—commercial as well as military—on which women were little employed before the war have been found suitable for them, and also some processes in the manufacture of soap. In the complicated *Textile Trades* there is probably not room for the greatly extended employment of women who already predominate in them, otherwise than by expansion of the trades themselves, except that it would seem as if the establishment of industries involving essentially men's work in the districts where weaving predominates might lead to this becoming more, what according to some witnesses it ought to be, a woman's occupation. Some extension of women's employment in dyeing and bleaching seems possible. In the *Clothing Trades*, already mainly female, employers and workpeople seem disposed to keep "cutting" a man's occupation, though women, at any rate in the light clothing trades, did it satisfactorily during the war, and also to maintain the pre-war exclusion of women from all the main processes of bootmaking except closing, though even in clicking substitution seems to have been successful. The *Food, Drink and Tobacco Trades* are likely to employ women in the near future very much as they did before the war. Flour milling, bread-making, beer malting and brewing are heavy trades unsuitable to them; on the other hand, the past exclusion of women from the lighter processes of biscuit-making scarcely seems to have been justified. In confectionery and jam-making they will doubtless maintain their predominance which will continue to increase in tobacco. Women would seem to be suitable for employment on processes in the *Printing Trade*, from which they have hitherto been excluded by wages questions. Their war-time employment on the woodwork of aircraft has demonstrated their suitability for certain branches of the *Wood Trades*, other than the subsidiary ones of upholstery, french polishing and brushmaking to which they have been in the past confined. There will be little additional occupation for women in the *China and Earthenware Trade* as a consequence of their employment in a few processes during the war previously

carried out by men exclusively. There is a desire of employers to retain the services of women in some processes of the *Leather Trades* into which they were then introduced, but heavy tanning and currying are probably unsuited to them, and as regards their increased employment on light tanning and the manufacture of light goods, it would appear as if some opposition from the men's Unions might have to be overcome. There is no real field, except possibly in meter-reading, for that employment in *Gas, Water and Electricity* undertakings.

190. Extension of Employment in other Occupations.—

Outside industry proper, though employers are at present adverse to the continued employment of women in the traffic departments of *Transport* undertakings, it seems unlikely that they will completely leave that work and, still more so, that they will entirely quit booking offices. With better agricultural and educational training women should, in the future, be a very valuable asset indeed to *Agriculture*. In *Hotels, Restaurants, &c.*, the departure of the alien waiter may allow some waitresses taken on during the war to remain, especially in boarding-houses. The contraction of *Domestic Service* as a field of women's employment, which was greatly accelerated during the war, shows signs of becoming permanent owing to the dislike of women, now that the war is over, to return to this service under pre-war conditions. This will increase the number seeking employment in other occupations and will seriously counteract the effect of the larger demand in those occupations, which should otherwise lead to the greater pecuniary appreciation of women's services. On the other hand, the stimulus given by the war to the previously expanding employment of women in *Commerce* as shop assistants and commercial clerks seems likely to have permanent effect, while their services to the *National Government* and the success of educated women in administrative posts and in the professions hitherto open to them has resulted in new openings of which there is little doubt that they will take advantage.

191. Extension of Employment by Agreement of Trade Unions.—But it is in industry proper (including agriculture) that employment in other less directly productive occupations must depend, and the question now for consideration is how to obtain a larger employment of women in those trades, and especially the metal trades—for which their capacity has been recognised.

The answer to this question depends in the first instance on the manner in which effect is given to definite promises of the Government and of employers that any departure during the war from the practice ruling in the workshops, shipyards and other industries prior to the war should only be for the period of the war. This promise appears to involve the exclusion on the termination of the war from any establishment where they may be employed of women doing work which was by practice exclusively men's work before the war. It is contained in the Treasury Agreement of the 19th March, 1915, and repeated as regards controlled establishments in Schedule II of the Munitions of War Act, 1915, but has its application limited in that Act to a period of twelve months after the conclusion of the war. Long before that time, if, indeed, it has not in great part already occurred, women on men's work employed by contractors "engaged on munitions and equipments of war or other work required for the satisfactory completion of the war" will have been discharged on the cessation of those contracts, pending the reorganisation of the establishment for peace production, and the guarantee becomes one not to take on women for that production, contrary to pre-war

practice, for a year from the end of the war. It stops for a short period the slow increase in the proportion of women to men employed in certain trades which, as we have seen, had been going on before the war and had been accompanied by a rise in the average earnings of women in those trades. The question is whether the Trades Unions will be prepared to surrender the safeguard against the encroachment of women on what they consider to be men's work which the statutory provision adds for a time to the usual methods for the enforcement of demarcation practices. It seems probable that they would do so in cases in which employers would enter into an agreement which would satisfy the Unions that the introduction of women would not result in the displacement of men by reason of the woman's cheapness to the employer. The relation between men's and women's wages which would have to be embodied in such an agreement is considered later in this Report.

192. Extension of Employment by increasing Physical Capacity. Improved Standard of Living.—Greater employment of women resulting from increased productivity of the country, bringing more of them as well as more men into industry, and also from an extension, in accord with Trade Unions, of the processes on which women may be engaged will produce a greater demand for their work and an enhancement of its value. Such an enhancement should at the same time be more directly aimed at by measures making for the greater efficiency of the work. Of these measures the most important concern the health of women in industry. These are dealt with in Dr. Janet Campbell's Memorandum. The first of her conclusions has already been quoted. The second and seventh, which bear directly on the subject of the enhancement of women's industrial efficiency, are as follows:—

“The conditions under which women were employed before the war were not such as to enable them to develop full health and vigour. Low wages, an unsatisfactory and inadequate dietary, long hours and lack of exercise in the open air, resulted in physical and industrial inefficiency and caused both men and women to place too low a value upon the woman's strength and capability.

“The results of employment of women under war conditions have emphasised the importance to health of the good food, clothing and domestic comfort which can be obtained when the wages represent a reasonably adequate recompense for labour. They have also proved that properly nourished women have a much greater reserve of energy than they have usually been credited with, and that under suitable conditions they can properly and advantageously be employed upon more arduous occupations than has been considered desirable in the past even when these involve considerable activity, physical strain, exposure to weather, &c. Light, sedentary occupations are not necessarily healthy occupations.”

The recommendation based on these conclusions, that “in order to secure and maintain physical health and efficiency, no normal adult woman should be employed for less than a reasonable subsistence wage,” is expanded into more definite proposals for a woman's subsistence wage further on in this chapter.

193. Further Regulation of Conditions of Employment.—Apart from the improvement in the health of women workers which may be anticipated from the payment to them of a reasonable subsistence wage, we look to three other ways for the attainment of this end, namely:—further regulation of the conditions of employment; further

supervision of factories and workshops to enforce this regulation; and direct supervision of the health of industrial workers. As to the necessity for further regulating conditions, the conclusions in Dr. Janet Campbell's memorandum are the following:—

“Employment under the conditions existing in the past has probably had, upon the whole, an injurious effect upon the health of the women and girls, though it is difficult to dissociate the effect of employment from social conditions generally. Women have suffered from numerous minor ailments, such as anæmia and ‘debility,’ which though not actually disabling have resulted in considerable broken time and loss of industrial efficiency, together with much suffering, discomfort and reduced vitality. The operation of the National Health Insurance Act has revealed a large and unsuspected burden of sickness among employed women which compares unfavourably with the incidence of sickness among men. The rise, during the war, of the tuberculosis death-rate among urban women suggests that any considerable increase in the number of women employed and in the period of their employment may, unless the conditions of employment are improved, cause the female death-rate to approximate to that of the male, a result which could not fail to have a detrimental effect on the national health and efficiency.

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 “The commercial futility of unduly long hours of work and of overtime have been demonstrated repeatedly together with the benefit to health and to output of shorter hours, of the abolition of work before breakfast, and of properly arranged spells and pauses. There is advantage to the employer as well as to the workpeople in the provision of factory canteens, well equipped surgeries and rest-rooms, suitable arrangements for sanitation and hygiene, and, when necessitated by the nature of the work, of protective clothing.”

For these reasons, Dr. Campbell recommends that there should be a substantial reform and extension in scope of the Factory and Workshop Acts, with special reference to (a) the reduction in the hours of work (including arrangement of spells and pauses, overtime, nightwork); (b) the provision of seats, labour saving devices, &c., to avoid unnecessary fatigue; (c) an improved standard of sanitation (sanitary conveniences, lavatories, cloakrooms, &c.), ventilation and general hygiene; (d) the provision of canteens, rest rooms and surgeries; (e) the general supervision of the health of the workers individually and collectively; and (f) the conditions under which adolescents should be employed.

In connection with this recommendation which we entirely adopt, it is necessary to recall the opposition, already mentioned in this Report, to restrictive conditions applying to women and not to men, an opposition reflected in some of the evidence we received from women desiring freedom of competition with men. Undoubtedly, however, men have hitherto found it more possible than have women to secure for themselves favourable conditions of work, as instanced recently when men were striking for a 44 hour week, and for the retention of certain pauses for meals, while women in laundries were certainly working up to the full limits allowed in factories, and it was doubtful whether they were getting the pauses to which they were entitled by law. At the same time a new regulation should take into consideration the need of securing healthy conditions of work for men as well as for women, and should certainly follow the lines of former Acts in regulating the conditions of the employment of boys and youths as fully as those of girls.

194. Further Supervision to enforce Regulations.—Dr. Janet Campbell's conclusion as regards the further supervision of factories and workshops to enforce the regulation of the conditions of employment in them deals with the inadequacy of the inspecting staff as follows:—

“The control of employment by the Home Office under the Factory and Workshops Acts, together with the advance in general sanitation which has proceeded more rapidly in relation to factory accommodation than to general housing, has done much to ameliorate the conditions of work, but the powers exercised by the Home Office have been inadequate, and the small size of the inspecting staff, in spite of admirable work done, has prevented even these powers from being made fully effective.”

We concur in the recommendations, based on this conclusion, that the present Factory Medical Department at the Home Office should at once be strengthened by the appointment of an adequate and suitable staff of women medical inspectors of factories, and that a considerable increase should be made to the present staff of lay women factory inspectors. Considerable stress was laid on this last recommendation by various witnesses who appeared before us.

195. Direct Supervision of Health.—The following is Dr. Janet Campbell's conclusion with regard to the third direction of progress towards the improved health of women workers:—

“Direct supervision of the health of industrial workers was almost non-existent before the war. Experience of war conditions had emphasised the need for more effective supervision and for energetic research into the causes of industrial fatigue and the methods of preventing disease directly or indirectly due to occupation. Factory hygiene must, indeed, become an integral part of the general system of preventive medicine which is likely to be the most important branch of medicine of the future. For this purpose an adequate service of factory medical officers is needed, having no duties of treatment, but charged with the general oversight of factory conditions, hygiene and health. With this may be associated the ‘welfare’ service in individual factories, responsible to the factory management, and partly occupied in carrying out recommendations made in regard to the health of the workers.”

We concur in Dr. Campbell's recommendation that follows on this conclusion, namely, that a local factory medical service should be established with duties of supervision, investigation and research intimately co-ordinated with the School Medical Service under the Local Education Authority, the Public Health Service under the Local Sanitary Authority, and the Medical Service under the National Insurance Act or Ministry of Health, when established. With regard to this recommendation the Committee lay stress on the condition that the Officers of the Factory Medical Service should have no duties of treatment such as would bring them into competition or disagreement with the Medical Officers that have been provided to attend on insured persons, or with any provision that may be made in the future for domiciliary treatment.

196. Extension of Employment by improved Training.—Good training is the factor which comes next to good health in increasing the value of women in industry. The removal of all educational disabilities of women and the provision of equal facilities for technical training and apprenticeship was urged on us by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and similar appeals came from other bodies representing women, such as the Scottish Council for Women's Trades

and the Women's Service Bureau.* But as far as the Committee are aware, Local Education Authorities under the control of the Board of Education provide technical instruction in a provided or aided Institution open to women in the various industries in which women are employed, and the removal of restrictions on women working in other trades or in new trade processes must precede the grant of facilities for training in those trades and processes for such instruction to have any value. The agreement of Trade Unions to new processes that are suitable to women being thrown open to them, possibly with the understanding that they should be definitely excluded from other processes not suitable to them, should enable any difficulties that exist with regard to technical instruction to be removed. The Sub-Committee of the Women's Advisory Committee which recently dealt with the co-ordination of the vocational training of women considered that the duty of technically advising Local Education Authorities with regard to such instruction might well be assigned to Central and Local Advisory Trade Committees representing Associations of employers and employed—either the existing ones that deal with the training of disabled men, with altered personnel, or new ones constituted for the purpose. They suggested what should be the duties of these bodies with regard to drawing up Trade curricula, deciding proper rates of wages to be paid at the end of the industrial course, &c., and they recommended that the arrangements should be entrusted to the Minister of Labour, who should further be charged with the duty of ascertaining both nationally and locally the demand for trained persons in any trade or occupation. In this recommendation we concur. To secure, however, training for women already in occupations which will make them eligible for the more skilled processes, there should be apprenticeship of some kind, not necessarily indentured. The question of apprenticeship, real and not merely nominal, can only, in the opinion of the Committee, be satisfactorily dealt with by the prohibition of the employment of girls under 18 at other than comparatively high minimum rates of wages except when it is proved to the satisfaction of some authoritative body, such as the Local Advisory Trade Committees above referred to, that the employment would be accompanied by real instruction likely to lead to permanent work at good remuneration.

197. **Regulation of Employment of Married Women.**—

Similar in effect to an increase in the demand for women workers in raising the level of their wages would be a reduction in the supply. Two methods of effecting such a reduction have often been discussed, namely, the withdrawal of married women from industry, and the restriction of the employment of young girls. It has been pointed out in Chapter I that in the main industries in which women were employed in 1911, out of a total of nearly 1,900,000, over 300,000 were married, and nearly 100,000 widowed. The circumstances in which women desire or are compelled to remain in or to enter industry after marriage have also been there indicated. These circumstances are such that even were it in itself desirable that married women and widows, especially those with young children, should be excluded, this could not be done without the infliction of great hardship on them. Dr. Janet Campbell's summing-up in this matter makes it doubtful whether such exclusion is necessary. It is as follows:—

“The effects of employment on the function of motherhood are not easy to determine with exactitude. The direct result upon the reproductive system of the woman is probably largely negligible, except in the case of multiparous woman engaged in heavy or fatiguing work. The indirect influence of employment in causing

an impairment of the general health and vitality, is certainly considerable. The effect of the increasing employment of women on the Birth Rate has probably been to accelerate somewhat the steady decline which has been observed since 1876, and the figures relating to occupations in which married women's labour is common suggest that this result would become more pronounced if the proportion of employed married women was much increased. The influence of employment upon the Infant Mortality Rate is not altogether clear. The industry associated with the highest infant mortality rate is mining, in which there is little employment of married women, but the housing and sanitation are notably inferior and the standard of general hygiene and domestic comfort is low. Almost as high infant mortality rates are associated with the pottery and textile industries in which many married women are employed for long hours away from home. The regular employment of the mother necessarily deprives her infant of its natural food which is the greatest safeguard to its healthy growth and development, and also of the careful and constant attention which is so necessary to its successful nurture. On the other hand, poverty or an insanitary environment may have an even more injurious effect than the mother's absence. This is borne out by the low infant mortality rates in 1916 and 1917, years during which a continually increasing number of married women was being employed. Indeed, it is significant that the infant mortality rate has shown its most rapid decline in the last decennium during which industrial employment of women has increased."

Apart from the foregoing consideration, exclusion by compulsion or pressure is, in our opinion, undesirable as tending to confirm the "meantime" character of women's work, which we have seen is already a natural bar to their efficiency, lessening the demand for them and so lowering their wages. The disadvantage of temporary withdrawal from industry must, however, be incurred as an alternative to greater evils when women are bearing children, and we have very carefully considered, from other points of view than that of lessening supply, the desirability of encouraging absence from work for this purpose by the support of mothers before and after the birth of a child for the period during which it may be shown to be in the best interests of mother and child that she should confine herself to all that is involved by the particular function of maternity. On this subject Dr. Janet Campbell states as follows:—

"Besides effect on the birth-rate and on infant mortality, the employment of married women may re-act directly on the personal health of the expectant and nursing mother, and on her general physical strength at other times by imposing a double burden of factory labour and domestic duties, while lack of "mothering" may lead to the moral and physical injury of the children. Employment under suitable conditions is not in itself injurious to the pregnant woman, while the money thus earned may enable her to be properly fed, a matter of the highest importance. If the work causes undue fatigue or involves strain or violence, it may give rise to general or local injury and lead to premature confinement or complications of pregnancy. Section 61 of the Factory and Workshops Act, 1901, provides that a woman shall not return to work within four weeks of giving birth to a child, and it is generally observed, because most women do not desire to return to work until at least a month and usually longer after their confinement. It would be undesirable to extend this period unless grants in aid were available to assist the mother."

For the reasons given in Part V (iv) of Dr. Janet Campbell's memorandum, and mainly on account of the relation of cost to effect in this and other schemes for the bettering of women's condition, we have decided not to recommend such pecuniary assistance to women leaving industry on the birth of a child as would justify their being required to remain away from work for a longer period than the four weeks laid down in existing legislation.

198. Regulation of Employment of Girls.—Restriction in the employment of young girls is a more hopeful direction in which to look for a lessening of the supply of women's labour. This restriction was, fortunately, going on before the war. The number of females in employment who were under 14 fell, as we have seen, between 1901 and 1911 from about 70,000 to about 49,000, that is by some 21,000, and the more rigid educational requirements of the future, as provided for in the Education Act of 1918, should do away with this class of worker and greatly lessen the larger number of girls (326,500 in 1911) between 14 and 16 at work. For the reduction of the still greater body of youthful female labour between 16 and 18 (487,000 in 1911), the requirement we recommend further on in this chapter of a high minimum wage for all girls at work which does not lead to permanent employment for good remuneration should be effective.

199. Industrial Organisation and State Regulation of Wages.—Though everything possible may be done to increase the demand for women workers by opening up new occupations for them, and by improving their efficiency from the point of view of health and training, and to decrease the supply by withholding from industry the immature, the effect of action in these directions must be slow and can be but limited. For the more rapid and complete improvement in the wages and conditions of women's employment the stimulus both of industrial organisation and of State regulation is necessary. In making recommendations for the more effective protection of women we do not ignore the view that undue interference by the State may be inimical to their real interests as tending to weaken their ability to protect themselves. This view is held not only by those leaders of the women's movement who object on principle to all sex discrimination, but by those who rely upon Trade Union action as being sufficient to secure the position of women in industry. It appears to us to be justified as an aspiration for the future and we look forward to a time when women will be able to establish and maintain their own Standard Rates in their own occupations, just as men have done, by collective bargaining. But all the facts revealed in the present enquiry shew that women are still very far from having attained a position which would permit them to bargain independently with employers or maintain their rights in demarcation questions against other organisations. It is necessary first to give them an escape from the vicious circle of low efficiency—low wages—low organisation. The evidence shows that the principal obstacles to the organisation of women in the past have lain in their low wages and precarious tenure of employment, and that the establishment of minimum rates by the Trade Boards has in several cases been followed by a greatly strengthened Trade Union organisation. There is thus no inconsistency, but rather an intimate connection between the protective measures we recommend and our belief that the best hope of real and permanent amelioration of the position of women in industry lies in Trade Union action. In the foregoing recommendations as well as in those that follow, this point of view has been kept in mind.*

* Sir William Mackenzie dissents from the recommendations contained in the remainder of this Chapter. See note on p. 335.

Witnesses who gave evidence before us, whether they represented employers or trade unions, were almost unanimous in admitting that the old level of wages for women was unduly and unnecessarily low, and in expressing the hope that wages would never return to the pre-war level. The facts recited in Chapter II. of this Report, and the statements in Dr. Janet Campbell's Memorandum, confirm the view that the great majority of the female wage-earners in the country were paid much less than a living wage. Certain trades were singled out for special attention as "sweated industries," but the figures show that the difference between the average of female earnings in such trades and those in several thoroughly well organised trades was almost negligible. The average weekly earnings of women in the Chain Trade were perhaps half-a-crown less than in the Engineering Trade of the same district.

The chief reason why such a state of things was tolerated was that many, perhaps most, of these workers were not independent wage-earners, not, at any rate, bread-winners. No doubt the degree of dependence varied, some were but earning "spending money," some were merely contributing to the family budget, some were expected to pay for their keep. But among them, and competing with them in the labour market, were a great and growing number of genuine wage-earners and many genuine bread-winners. These were the workers, whether their lot fell in the organised industries represented by highly developed male Craft Unions or in the humbler trades scheduled under the Trade Boards Act, who were really the sweated workers. Once it is admitted that an adult woman ought to receive an independent living wage in respect of her work, whether she is domestically independent or not, the old system becomes indefensible.

200. Need for Women's Subsistence Wage.—We have seen that this system largely, but by no means entirely, disappeared in the circumstances of the war. Our evidence showed that the wages of women have, as a rule, gone up to a greater extent than is represented by the increased expense of living. When the restrictions of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act of 1918, are removed there is, however, every reason to fear that wages will, unless arrested, go down at a greater rate than will those expenses. To check this tendency and to regulate in the future the wages of female workers, there will be available in the case of well-organised trades the machinery of the Joint Industrial Council, and in the case of less organised trades or trades not organised, there is the machinery of the Trade Boards. The employment of women and girls does not, however, admit of such satisfactory regulation by trades as is broadly the case with men. In addition to the women in recognised women's trades like Millinery or Confectionery, and organised mixed trades like Cotton, almost every male trade has an auxiliary body of female labour engaged in the warehouse, in finishing, sorting, wrapping, and similar occupations. Large numbers of women and girls are engaged also in unclassified occupations which are difficult to reach by Trade Board organisation. For these reasons we have had to consider whether a system by which each industry would regulate its own affairs by means of Joint Industrial Councils or Trade Boards should not be supplemented, at any rate in the case of women, by the institution of a general minimum wage which would be payable to women workers unless and until their position was safeguarded by the establishment of a Council or a Board for their particular trade.

We are aware that this question was considered during the war by the Industrial Group of the Sub-Committee on Women's Employment appointed by the Reconstruction Committee, and that this Sub-Committee in March, 1917, were of opinion that the most satisfactory means of pre-

scribing minimum rates were to be found in the establishment of Trade Boards. They indicated the trades, including about one million women workers, in which regulation by such Boards was specially suitable. They estimated, however, that with Trade Boards established on the scale proposed there would still be about 200,000 women in factories and workshops to whom the protection of the Act would not apply, and they pointed out that until some action was taken with regard to these women they would naturally be exposed to a risk of the lowering of wages through the enhanced competition for employment by the end of the war. Their proposal to regulate women's wages after the war entirely by means of Trade Boards was also made on the assumption that the extension advocated would have been substantially complete by the time that a downward movement in wages was threatened. If that was not possible they recognised that their recommendations might have to be reconsidered and alternatives put forward even though these should take the less satisfactory form of a rate or rates prescribed for female workers generally.

The extension of the Trade Board system recommended by this Group, though it has been made possible by new legislation, is still a long way from completion and Joint Industrial Councils are still some way off any comprehensive regulation of women's wages. In these circumstances, it has been necessary for us to go into the question of a basis minimum rate below which no women employed by way of gain should be paid, unless or until a properly constituted authority should otherwise determine.

The opinions of the witnesses who were questioned on the subject of a general minimum wage for women varied considerably according to their point of view. Those who voiced the ideas of the general Unions representing men and women and of the general Unions and Societies representing women were mostly in favour of a minimum fixed by State agency, and so were the Unions in which there are large numbers of low paid workers, such as the United Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, Tailoresses, &c., the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, the Amalgamated Society of Male and Female Pottery Workers, the Amalgamated Union of Commercial and Co-operative Employees and the National Union of Clerks. The Unions in which the members were mainly skilled men were naturally less interested in the question of a minimum which would be below the general standard rate. Practically the only objection raised by employers to a minimum wage for women, high, compared with the level of wages before the war, was that of the reduction of power to meet foreign competition abroad or at home which they considered this would involve. This contention, on which the Engineering Employers' Federation only laid stress in connection with continued restriction of output, will be dealt with later on in this Chapter. Here it will suffice to quote the following deduction from a careful enquiry to show that in the widely extended and intricate Tailoring trade no such loss as had been feared followed the raising of wages consequent on the establishment of a statutory minimum. "There is no sign that the advance in wages has caused, or is likely to cause, English manufacturers of clothing to lose foreign markets. The explanation of this is to be found in the fact that the effect of the advance in wages has been to increase the efficiency of workers and to cause employers to introduce improvements in organisation and machinery, which those of them who had been able to obtain cheap labour had hitherto neglected."* Apart from the fear of its

* The Establishment of Minimum Rates in the Tailoring Trades under the Trade Boards Act of 1909, by R. H. Tawney. 1915.

effect on foreign competition, employers generally, according to Sir George Askwith, would have no objection to a minimum rate applying equally to all of them, and some evidence was received that the fixing of a rate which would exclude the unfair competition of employers outside organised Federations would not be unwelcome. The representatives of employers in the China and Earthenware Trades raised, however, a different point, namely, that a guaranteed time-rate in what was essentially a piece-work trade, would result in a substantial decrease in production. But it is not necessary that a national minimum time-rate should be *guaranteed* to ensure that piece-rates, established by proper authority, shall not infringe its principle. The old objection to a minimum wage, that it would tend to become the maximum, though mentioned to us by the Soap and Candle Employers' Federation, was not referred to by the Trade Unions; it is not based on the experience of minimum rates either in Australia or this country; is not consistent with the obvious advantage of the employer to pay higher wages to get the best workers, and it would not apply to piece-rates on the basis of minimum time-rate.

201. Woman's Subsistence Wage Based on Needs of Single Women.—The general assent of workpeople to the proposition that there should be a general minimum wage for women workers was, in various cases, conditioned on it being the same for men and women, and in some instances on it being based not on the individual needs of a single man or single women, but on the requirements of a normal family. The arguments usually adduced in favour of one minimum are, in the first instance, that the payment to a worker should be according to the work performed and not according to the worker's circumstances. It is maintained that the fact that at present men receive larger wages is not a natural result of their being held responsible for the maintenance of their children, but a custom resulting from their stronger economic position. It is suggested that married women's wages also go towards the maintenance of their children, that single women support more dependants than men do, and that such part of a man's wages as may go to the support of his wife are equally required by the bachelor and spinster paying for the domestic service necessary to secure for those employed in industry freedom from domestic care. It is further argued that a large proportion of the age contemporaries of working women are bachelors without larger responsibilities than those of a young girl.

The argument that payment should be according to work performed and not according to the worker's circumstances is, of course, not applicable to payment of a subsistence wage which has to take into account for what individual or individuals the subsistence has to be provided. The contention that the present higher wages of men have not arisen from a recognition of their responsibilities for children but from man's stronger economic position is not important in view of the fact that families are actually supported from these wages: "The wages of men in most occupations are sufficient to rear a family, not, indeed, in many of them as families ought to be reared, but without glaring violation of the man's own standards, those standards which he expects to satisfy before he marries and has children, and which the laws of supply and demand, aided by public opinion, custom and trade organisation enable him to enforce upon his employer. . . . In the normal case . . . the family does receive the benefit of the man's wages, at least up to the point of minimum subsistence level, and the vast majority of wives and of children below 14 are wholly or mainly

maintained out of this source.”* The fact of married women’s wages also going towards the maintenance of their children does not require to be taken into account in calculating the women’s subsistence wage provided the husband’s wage is available; if it is not available by reason of his being dead or through his own fault or otherwise incapable of earning wages, the maintenance of the women’s children becomes a special problem to which reference will presently be made. The suggestion that single women support more adult dependants than do men is not, as far as is known, supported by figures. An investigation on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Fabian Women’s Group, conducted between 1912 and 1915, produced results which, according to Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, who analysed them and gives good reason for his opinion, we should not be justified in regarding “as indicating even approximately the proportion of women industrial workers who are wholly or partially responsible for the maintenance of dependants.” His own investigations in 1917 and 1918 tended “to show that the great majority of women, possibly five out of every six, are not to any material extent responsible for the maintenance of dependants.”† From the investigations of the Fabian Women’s Group it would appear, however, that among the dependants of industrial women the children outnumbered the adults, which again lays emphasis on the insufficiency of a woman’s wage based on individual requirements for the maintenance of the children of the widow or of the wife of the man without income or power of earning substantial wages. There is force in the argument that at any rate a portion of that part of a man’s wages which goes to the support of his wife is equally required by the bachelor or spinster to pay for domestic service if industrial efficiency is to be maintained. This necessary assistance, which is obviously very much less than the full service of one individual, is, even more frequently in the case of the spinster than in that of the bachelor, provided in return for a small contribution to household expenses in the home where the young man or girl frequently resides till an independent establishment is set up. The contention that the young man before marriage has no greater needs than the girl is the principal one against a different subsistence wage for the two sexes. The greater consumption of food by the young man than by the young woman required by biological differences is not considerable, and the difference is less than that which has resulted to the detriment of women’s health from custom and low wages. The possibly greater expense of the young man’s small pleasures is scarcely a factor justifying differentiation in a subsistence wage. On the other hand, the fact that the average young man does look forward to supporting a family, and works with this in view, while the average girl looks forward to marriage and to being supported while rearing a family, is a real factor. Though only 54 per cent. of occupied men are actually married, it is estimated that at least another 30 per cent. will marry in due course. On the other hand, of 77 per cent. of occupied women that are unmarried, by far the larger proportion can look forward to being later supported in marriage.

202. Endowment of Motherhood.—That the head of a family if a woman should receive the same wages as a girl of 18 or over, the unmarried man out of his apprenticeship the same as a man who is head of a family, and the father of one child the same as a father of six, are undoubtedly weaknesses in the system at present obtaining of the rising

* “The Making of Women—Oxford Essays in Feminism,” 1917, Chapter IV. on “The Remuneration of Women,” by Eleanor F. Rathbone.

† “The Human Needs of Labour,” by B. Seebohm Rowntree. 1918.

generation being supported from the wages of individual men. To replace this system the National Endowment of Motherhood has been proposed and has received careful consideration from a number of students of social science. This system, as put before us by the Family Endowment Committee, is intended to secure the full equality of opportunity for women, and also to prevent injustice to men with families by following the grant of "equal pay" by "the removal from the shoulders of individual men of the main cost of rearing the next generation." It proposes payments to the mothers of families much on the lines that have been followed in the payment of separation allowances to the families of soldiers during the war, and is estimated to cost annually £144,000,000 if the children are endowed up to the age of five, and £240,000,000 if the endowment is extended up to the age of 15. The Women's Industrial Council, in their evidence, also considered that the supporting of children out of wages of adults was unsatisfactory, and that the separation allowance system adopted during the war had resulted in the better health of the families to which it had been applied. The same view that the financial charge of dependants should be transferred from the individual to the community was expressed on behalf of the Fabian Women's Group, and the representatives of clerical services who appeared before us were also generally in favour of dependants being provided for by the State apart from the individual's wage. On the other hand, Mr. G. D. H. Cole, speaking on behalf of the Labour Research Department of the Labour Party, thought that State support for dependants, though a desirable scheme, was not practical under present conditions. The Lancashire workpeople expressed the view through the representatives of the Amalgamated Association of Card Room Operatives that it was preferable that husbands should be paid a sufficient wage to render it unnecessary that their wives should go out to work than that the State should pay children's allowances, and the United Garment Workers' Union did not consider recognition of the increased responsibility of the married man or the widow by a State allowance feasible in the near future. The Trade Unions generally were strongly of opinion that no part of the cost of any scheme for providing children's allowances should fall upon the industry, even when it was pointed out to them that the maintenance of children was, in existing circumstances, a burden on industry, and that by a Government Department collecting a uniform payment per work-person from employers and distributing the fund so raised to workpeople according to numbers of children, there would be no incentive to the employer to use the services of the persons with fewer responsibilities. It was suggested by several witnesses in favour of the scheme for the National Endowment of Motherhood, or of some State provision for children, that its cost might properly be provided for, at any rate in part, by those who made no contribution in children towards the coming generation.

The scheme for the National Endowment of Motherhood has certain obvious dangers recognised by its promoters, but they are probably right in considering it as a corollary to the absolute avoidance of sex distinction in connection with wages and as a natural extension of what the State has already done in the direction of taking over the cost of bringing up children by the provision of free education, the feeding of school children and the grant of maternity benefits. We are not, however, prepared to recommend the general adoption of this scheme at the present time as an alternative to the principle of providing for the maintenance of children in the subsistence wage for men. Such general adoption, involving an enormous alteration in the financial system of the

country, would have to be preceded by a close examination of its financial and economic aspects necessarily extending over a considerable period of time. Nor do we recommend that pending such consideration the wages of women should be raised so that none should get less than what is necessary for the maintenance in full health and reasonable conditions of a man with an average family dependent on him. We feel most strongly that a substantial, definite and permanent rise over the lower pre-war levels in the wages of women compared with cost of living is an urgent matter and that this requires in the first instance that a wage should be fixed sufficient to provide for the maintenance of a single woman of 18 years of age or over, and that the circumstances in which any woman could be employed for a less wage should be restricted by law and regulation.

203. Mothers' Pensions.—Impressed, however, with the hardship of a woman having children to support being called on to do this on a single woman's subsistence wage, we recommend that consideration should at once be given to the adoption of a scheme of mothers' pensions, to be granted to widows and to deserted wives with children and to the wives with children of men physically or mentally disabled. The principle followed in the 35 States of America that have adopted Mothers' Pensions, namely, that they should be granted only after investigation where there is need and subject to supervision, is a reasonable one, and if accepted in this country would result in the expenditure on these pensions being in some part a transference from local to national funds. The administration should, in other respects, follow the lines of that of the pensions granted to the widows of men deceased in war. It would not be possible or desirable to confine the grant of Mothers' Pensions to those engaged in industry, and the detailed consideration of the conditions and administration of such grant are therefore outside the subject of our enquiry. The principle we are adopting of a woman's subsistence wage, based on the needs of a single woman, has led us, however, to make the above general suggestion for an early adoption of an endowment of mothers, limited to where the support of children cannot be provided from a man's wages. Mothers' Pensions granted in these circumstances would tend to lessen the number of married women with young children seeking employment in industry, while the adoption of a general subsistence wage will prevent such women taking advantage of their children's allowances to undercut other workers.

Another provision for the Endowment of Motherhood which has been advocated by Mr. Seebom Rowntree is "to fix minimum wages sufficient to secure physical efficiency for, say, three dependent children and for the State to make a grant to the mother in such cases and for such a time as there are more than three dependent children." A contribution of 3s. a week, made for every child in excess of three, where it was claimed, is estimated to involve a grant of eight to nine millions a year. It is represented as an extension of the scheme by which an abatement of income tax, looked upon as of the same practical effect as a grant, is made to income tax payers on account of children. We have not given any detailed consideration to this scheme, the adoption of which, at any rate until experience has been gained of the practical working of the more urgent and probably less costly plan of Mothers' Pensions, appears to us premature.

204. Increased Assistance to Maternity.—A more pressing advance in the direction of relieving industry from an undue share of the expense of rearing the new generation is indicated by the recom-

generation being supported from the wages of individual men. To replace this system the National Endowment of Motherhood has been proposed and has received careful consideration from a number of students of social science. This system, as put before us by the Family Endowment Committee, is intended to secure the full equality of opportunity for women, and also to prevent injustice to men with families by following the grant of "equal pay" by "the removal from the shoulders of individual men of the main cost of rearing the next generation." It proposes payments to the mothers of families much on the lines that have been followed in the payment of separation allowances to the families of soldiers during the war, and is estimated to cost annually £144,000,000 if the children are endowed up to the age of five, and £240,000,000 if the endowment is extended up to the age of 15. The Women's Industrial Council, in their evidence, also considered that the supporting of children out of wages of adults was unsatisfactory, and that the separation allowance system adopted during the war had resulted in the better health of the families to which it had been applied. The same view that the financial charge of dependants should be transferred from the individual to the community was expressed on behalf of the Fabian Women's Group, and the representatives of clerical services who appeared before us were also generally in favour of dependants being provided for by the State apart from the individual's wage. On the other hand, Mr. G. D. H. Cole, speaking on behalf of the Labour Research Department of the Labour Party, thought that State support for dependants, though a desirable scheme, was not practical under present conditions. The Lancashire workpeople expressed the view through the representatives of the Amalgamated Association of Card Room Operatives that it was preferable that husbands should be paid a sufficient wage to render it unnecessary that their wives should go out to work than that the State should pay children's allowances, and the United Garment Workers' Union did not consider recognition of the increased responsibility of the married man or the widow by a State allowance feasible in the near future. The Trade Unions generally were strongly of opinion that no part of the cost of any scheme for providing children's allowances should fall upon the industry, even when it was pointed out to them that the maintenance of children was, in existing circumstances, a burden on industry, and that by a Government Department collecting a uniform payment per work-person from employers and distributing the fund so raised to workpeople according to numbers of children, there would be no incentive to the employer to use the services of the persons with fewer responsibilities. It was suggested by several witnesses in favour of the scheme for the National Endowment of Motherhood, or of some State provision for children, that its cost might properly be provided for, at any rate in part, by those who made no contribution in children towards the coming generation.

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country, would have to be preceded by a close examination of its financial and economic aspects necessarily extending over a considerable period of time. Nor do we recommend that pending such consideration the wages of women should be raised so that none should get less than what is necessary for the maintenance in full health and reasonable conditions of a man with an average family dependent on him. We feel most strongly that a substantial, definite and permanent rise over the lower pre-war levels in the wages of women compared with cost of living is an urgent matter and that this requires in the first instance that a wage should be fixed sufficient to provide for the maintenance of a single woman of 18 years of age or over, and that the circumstances in which any woman could be employed for a less wage should be restricted by law and regulation.

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204. Increased Assistance to Maternity.—A more pressing advance in the direction of relieving industry from an undue share of the expense of rearing the new generation is indicated by the recom-

mendation contained in Dr. Janet Campbell's Report that there should be extended provision for maternal welfare, which might take the form of revised and increased maternity benefit, or of extended facilities for obtaining skilled assistance, nourishment, comfort, &c., or preferably a combination of both. To this proposal we think early effect should be given and we recommend that the Department or Departments of Government concerned should draw up a scheme by which the entire direct costs involved by the lying-in of women under thoroughly satisfactory conditions should be provided by the State.

205. **Determination of Women's Subsistence Wage.**—

Allowances to widows and to women without husbands capable of supporting their children, payment in full of the cost of lying-in and the fixing of a subsistence wage to ensure adequate maintenance of all individual women in industry, should bring about that revolution in the position of these women which appears to us to be essential. Much, of course, will depend on the amount at which the subsistence wage is fixed. One suggestion that has been made on the subject is that the lowest rate at any time fixed by a Trade Board or alternatively the commonest Trade Board rate should be the minimum. But this would result in a rate fluctuating from time to time not in accordance with the living needs of the workers but with the circumstances of a particular trade or number of trades.

Other schemes have been put forward, but the actual fixing of a woman's subsistence wage requires a more complete investigation than has, as yet, been made in the matter, and we recommend that this investigation should be by an authority constituted for the particular purpose. It should not be a body on which only employers and workpeople are represented, as the determination should not be based on a compromise between interests. It would be necessary for a corresponding enquiry to be made periodically, probably after the first year or two not oftener than biennially, to ensure an adjustment of the wage to alterations in the conditions. We suggest that a wage based on the cost of living in July, 1914, would furnish a convenient datum to which to add amounts corresponding to necessarily increased expenditure. The determination should be of the cost of providing a single woman in a typical district where the cost of living is low with an adequate dietary; with lodging to include fuel and light in a respectable house not more than half an hour's journey, including tram or train, from the place of work; with clothing sufficient for warmth, cleanliness and decent appearance, with money for fares, insurance and Trade Union subscriptions and with a reasonable sum for holidays, amusements, &c. The determination should be of a weekly rate, but a corresponding hourly rate should also be fixed to allow of part-time workers. The authority should also prescribe the additions to the wage so determined to make it suffice for the larger towns and for London, where there may be appreciable differences in prices. Advocates of the general principle of a minimum wage expressed themselves to us in favour of such differentiation. There should, however, be as few variations from the general women's subsistence wage as possible. Such variations were attempted but not found practicable in the case of munition wages during the war. A minor point for consideration in connection with additions to cover variations that may be adopted at different times and for different areas is the advisability of fixing as the initial rate some multiple of 10*d.* To a basic rate which is such a multiple there is no difficulty in adding 10 per cent. or 20 per cent. for a more expensive area or 40 per cent., 60 per cent., or 80 per cent. on account of the high cost of living such as obtains at the

present time. The percentages are not only less easy to apply to shillings and fractions of shillings but, which is of greater importance, are also less easy for the work-person to understand.

It will be clear from the foregoing that we do not contemplate the subsistence wage varying according to trades; a woman employed on machine lace making does not require less to live on than one engaged in bespoke tailoring. This does not, however, mean that the work of the Trade Boards would be unnecessary as regards women's wages in the future. It will still be for them to fix minimum standards for their several trades in excess of the general subsistence wage, or even, in the occasional cases mentioned in the next paragraph, below that standard. They would still be required to revise piece rates on the basis customary in each trade, but the rates fixed for each trade should not yield to the worker of normal capacity less than the general hourly minimum rate. The exemption of the employment of infirm workers from the operation of subsistence or minimum rates would be a function of the Trade Boards. In the organised trades Industrial Councils or District Councils, or Works Committees created by them, should perform similar services.

206. Effect of Women's Subsistence Wage on Foreign Trade.—Another function for the Trade Boards is foreshadowed in the suggestion of Miss Margaret Bondfield contained in the Labour Year Book for 1916 that they should fix a lesser minimum than the general one where employers showed cause for exemption from the latter. Reference has been made to the objections of employers to a general minimum on the ground that it would lessen their power to meet foreign competition abroad and at home. Such objections came from the Engineering Employers' Federation, the Chain Makers' Association and from employers in the Fine Chemicals and Drugs, the Woollen, the Ready-made Clothing and the China and Earthenware Trades. Considering that in many trades no representatives of employers were examined and that not all those who appeared before us were interrogated in the matter, it may be said that the fear of the effect of a relatively high subsistence wage for women on their power to meet the foreign competitor is general among manufacturers who largely export the products of women's industry. Against any arguments that may be based on this fear the Committee recognise four vital facts. First of all, no immediate economic advantage based on low cost of production due to lower wages than can maintain workers in complete physical health can be of permanent benefit to the nation. To get such an advantage in the export trade means that some part of the national vitality is given away to the foreigner with the goods created by its sacrifice. Secondly, high wages do not mean high cost of production if accompanied by high rate of production. Though wages in the United States of America are two or three times as high as in the United Kingdom, production per worker is also two or three times as great owing to more extended employment of machinery, to the machinery being more productive, to more perfect organisation and to no limitation of output. It is this high production, in spite of high wages, that the English manufacturer, hampered by low production, seeks to meet with low wages. Thirdly, a decrease in exports which has arisen in a trade in which wages have been raised without production having been correspondingly increased may and probably does mean an increase in export in a trade which has been carried on under more favourable conditions and so does not mean ultimate national loss. Fourthly, the international regulation of labour conditions, for which a Convention has been drafted in Paris, should in the near future lessen

the danger of the foreign trade of this country being injured as a result of the employment of under-paid labour abroad. In this connection, we cordially follow the recent Industrial Conference in welcoming the steps that are being taken in the direction of international labour regulation. We note that the provision of an adequate living wage and the protection of female labour are among the objects thus sought to be obtained.

But in the interests alike of the employers and workpeople in a particular trade sudden dislocation is to be avoided, and however vital it is for the continuance of British industry that increased production, by reason of better organisation, more extended use of more efficient machinery, and no limitation of output should follow any increase in wages, it is not possible to say that this sequence will be immediate. Hence, it may be desirable to suspend in certain cases the introduction of the full minimum, and suspension of its continued application may also be desirable in times of temporary depression such as were cited to us by Sir David Shackleton as involving occasional agreement for sacrifice of wages in the cotton industry. Such suspension should be of rare occurrence and only on cause shown by the employers and should be determined by Trade Boards or Industrial Councils. It should also be for these to settle for how long and to what extent it should be legal to pay and accept a wage below the statutory minimum. Until the Boards or Councils are in operation, the authority determining the subsistence wage should have power to postpone on cause shown its full introduction in particular occupations.

207. Application of Women's Subsistence Wage.—With this safeguard to meet exceptional conditions the Committee see no reason why the national subsistence wage for women with its additions for the large towns and London, and with machinery for its variation from time to time to meet alterations in expense of living should not be established by statute for all women employed by way of gain in occupations other than Domestic Service where considerations arising from living-in require further examination. To deal with living-in in commercial occupations—a disappearing practice—regulating powers should be given by statute to the authority which is to determine the rate and variations from it. It is advisable that the woman's subsistence wage should come into force immediately after the expiry on the 21st May, 1919, of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act of 1918, or any prolongation of it.

208. Minimum Wage for Girls.—The wage of a young girl under 18 looked at from the point of view of subsistence sufficiency need not, any more than that of the youth, be the same as that of an adult. Youths and young girls do, as they should, normally live "at home" and less than adult wages would suffice not only to repay their parents the full charge that this involves, but also to make that extra contribution to the household expenses to which parents have a right to look until sons and daughters go out into the world; the allowances and pensions on the basis of pre-war or pre-enlistment dependency issued to the parents of sons serving or deceased in consequence of the war have shown how general were these extra contributions from young men, and if girls have contributed less it will have been by reason of their lower earnings. But if the question of a subsistence wage enters less into the consideration of what should be the remuneration of young persons than it does into the corresponding question with regard to adults, from another point of view the importance of minima below which wages should, except under certain conditions, not be paid, is as great. Up to 18, at any rate, extend the plastic years during which employment which is not training is from the point of view of future efficiency wasteful and not to be

encouraged. It has long been recognised that blind alley employment for youths is an evil and that their labour at low wages ought only to be available to employers in return for opportunities for the acquisition of skill. In the case of girls, however, the "meantime" character of their work in anticipation that they will marry (justified in the case of about 80 per cent. of those at 15), and that they will leave industry has militated against their instructive employment. To some extent this will no doubt change in the future with the wider ideas as to employment engendered by war experience, and a possibly exaggerated view of the lessened prospect of marriage; in any event the new educational provisions will tend to restrict the period under 18 of wage-earning without instruction. But it certainly would not do to stimulate such employment by heightening the wages of women and allowing those for girls to be maintained at the old low rates.

We have seen that in 1906 the averages of these were 8s. 11d. in the textile, 7s. 4d. in the metal, and 5s. 9d. in the clothing trade; that in July, 1913, the arrangement between the Midland Employers' Federation and the principal General Unions of workers on the basis of a 12s. weekly wage for women of 21, fixed wages for girls between 14 and 18 at from 6s. to 9s., and that the corresponding war agreement of 1915 paid them at from 7s. to 13s. The Ministry of Munitions Orders treated the girl of 18 as an adult, and generally provided a rate lower by $\frac{1}{2}$ d. an hour, or 2s. per week of 48 hours for each year under 18 with a general rate fixed on this principle for all girls under 16 employed on work customarily done by men before the war, and for all girls under 15 employed on work not recognised as men's work. This gave a minimum of 10s. exclusive of war bonus.

It appears to us that a similar provision, viz., for a rate 2s. a week less than the woman's subsistence wage for each year under 18 might reasonably be adopted as the girl's minimum in connection with that wage. The inducement to employ young girls on adults' work merely for the cheapness of their labour in occupations not leading to the acquisition of skill, and the attainment of a permanent livelihood would then be much less than it was in the metal trades before the war, and than it is in some trades now. Where, however, the employment is of the nature of an apprenticeship lower rates might be fixed by Trade Boards and Industrial Councils, on employers satisfying them as to the nature of the training opportunities. The Trade Boards generally have allowed low wages during learnership where definite training was secured, such learnership extending over a maximum period of four years in the case of girls entering at 14 years of age, and shorter maxima in the case of girls entering at higher ages.

A matter connected with the wages of girls which appears to the Committee to require some further examination is the advisability of restricting the employment of children on piece work. There appears likelihood that such work may cause undue strain on the young. This view no doubt finds expression in the March, 1918, Agreement in the Light Leather Trades by which girls under 21 and youths under 18 are not allowed to be engaged on piece work. It is probably not necessary to carry the restriction generally to so high an age but the desirability of altogether abolishing piece working for girls and boys under 16 is worth special consideration. This it will doubtless receive if our recommendation for an extension of the scope of the Factory and Workshop Act with reference to the conditions under which adolescents are employed is accepted. We have thought it, however, desirable to draw special attention to the matter.

CHAPTER VI.

FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN WOMEN'S AND MEN'S WAGES.

In the last chapter we considered the general question of raising the level of women's wages by extending their employment and so increasing the demand for them, by decreasing the supply through withholding the immature, and by the adoption of a statutory subsistence wage to secure physical health and efficiency. We have not, so far, dealt with the relation which should obtain between the wages of the two sexes, except to propose that there should be a difference between the subsistence wage of women and men to allow for the support of children by the latter, the difference being made up by a State allowance to women on whom such support may, by reason of special circumstances, directly fall and who cannot otherwise provide it.

209. Cases to be considered.—The relation between wages has now to be considered under the conditions of women and men doing different, similar or identical work. To facilitate this consideration it is necessary to classify industrial, commercial and professional occupations into—

- (1) occupations or sections of occupations in which, by reason of sex qualifications or disqualifications, women only or men only are employed;
- (2) occupations or sections of occupations in which both women and men are normally employed with definite demarcation of all the work and duties of the occupations into women's work and men's work and women's duties and men's duties respectively; and
- (3) occupations or sections of occupations in which both women and men are normally employed without distinct demarcation of their respective work or division of their respective duties, the work and duties being either indiscriminately performed by both men and women or sometimes by men and sometimes by women, or some work and duties being allotted to men and some to women with a sphere of common work and duties which may be large or small according to the circumstances of the occupation and its degree of organisation.

Examples of the first category would be nursemaids, milliners, sailors and miners; of the second, winders and warp dressers in the woollen trade, closers and clickers in the boot trade, baisters and cutters in tailoring; the third, though represented in industrial occupations (*e.g.*, woolcombers, weavers, &c.), comprises mainly commercial, clerical and professional workers.

210. Women and Men in different Occupations.—As regards the first category—in which men and women do radically different work—it is not possible to lay down a relation between their wages. There is no way of making any comparison between the efforts and sacrifices of a coalminer and a nursemaid on which theoretically their respective wages might be based. Any relation that may be adopted in the wages paid for similar or the same work will, however, have its effect on the wages paid for dissimilar work by encouraging or discouraging the selection by

women of one or the other. If women's wages in occupations where men and women are both employed on similar or the same work approach the level of men's wages, these occupations (if it is not made impossible to enter them) will attract women and decrease the numbers of them competing in the exclusively women's occupations and so raise their value in the latter. To this interplay of industrial forces the settlement of the relation in the case of dissimilar work must be left, State intervention being confined to securing the general raising of the women's level in the ways that have already been indicated.

211. Women and Men in same Occupations.—It is in connection with women in the second and third categories doing similar or the same work as men that the formula "equal pay for equal work" has been mainly used and the governing condition of its application is thus that women should be engaged on or introduced on to work of the same class as that on which men are employed or should be engaged in or introduced into an occupation or section of an occupation or job in which men are also employed, so that there is, as between the man and the woman, community of work or of calling as the case may be.

In such a case there may or may not be equality of efficiency. Both alternatives call for consideration, but before dealing with the arguments in favour of either, we desire to accept the principle involved by the general formula in so far as it is intended to prevent reduction of men's wages by the competition of women with lower standards and less organisation. We consider that it is not to the national advantage that women should be employed in preference to men at work in which they are less efficient than men in order to cheapen labour and increase profits.

The grant of equal pay to women for similar or the same work as that done by men without equality of efficiency has been expressed as "the rate for the job" or "equal time rates." The grant of equal pay with equality of efficiency corresponds more closely to the formula "equal pay for equal work." It has also been described as "equal pay for equal value," the underlying idea being that pay should be in proportion to efficient output.

212. Principle of "The Rate for the Job," or "Equal Time Rates."—The adoption of the first principle has long been advocated by the Unions of skilled workers.* It was pressed on us by those of the Women's Unions and Societies connected with labour and by practically all the general and mixed Unions. It was urged with force by and on behalf of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the body which, as a result of the experience of war production, naturally look upon themselves as most threatened by the incursion of women.†

There is no question as to the grounds of this advocacy. The principle that all people doing the same work should have the same pay is looked upon as essential to the Trade Union movement, and witness after witness referred to men of different capacity getting the same standard rate in accordance with this principle. They said that if it were open to the employer to pay according to capacity, persons of lower capacity would be employed at rates which made their labour cheaper to him and the more capable would be unemployed or have to accept the lower wage. It was always open to the employer to send a man away if he did not think him worth the standard rate and it was in the interest of industry

* See pp. 15-17 of Report of the Fair Wages Committee, 1908, Cd. 4422.

† Of some 700,000 females directly replacing males in Industry proper and Government Establishments (January, 1918) about half were employed in the metal trades.

that the more efficient should be employed rather than the less efficient. If the average woman were less capable than the average man at any occupations it was well that she should be excluded from such occupations and confined to those in which she was more efficient than the average man. The exceptional woman worth the man's rate of pay would be eligible to be taken on and the superior position in which this would place her would be the best incentive to the average woman to increase her capacity.

213. Effect of Adoption of this Principle in excluding Women from Industry.—Of the results of the universal adoption of this policy of equal time rates we were left in no doubt. There was complete unanimity on the part of the employers in every department of industry proper that it would drive women out, and the opinion of the general Unions was that it would have this effect on trades unsuited to women. The skilled men's Unions were now, as, according to the evidence before the Fair Wages Committee, they had been in 1908, of opinion that the policy would involve exclusion, and it was frankly admitted by some of them that this was what was desired. The Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, however, appear from the evidence of the Federation's representative to have seen the hardship of this on the women displaced, and the difficulty of the situation involved by paying equal time rates to the woman merely because she worked equal time. The women's Unions most connected with industry took the view that the principle of the "rate for the job" meant the exclusion of women from certain trades, but laid stress on this exclusion being either the result of insufficient training, which was remediable, or of the work being specially laborious, and therefore only suitable for exceptional women. They thought that under any other system the entry of women into new occupations would be looked upon with suspicion and resisted. Women's Associations less directly connected with industry, in so far as they admitted the lower efficiency of women feared their exclusion as a result of a claim to equal time-rates. Outside industry proper, where physical strength and technical training told less, *e.g.*, in clerical duties, the evidence was less in support of the view that women would be driven out of occupation by the same rates being paid to both sexes. In the teaching profession it appeared that the same rates paid to men and women would have the result of attracting women with a higher standard of qualification, and so of either driving out men or forcing a new differentiation of salary if men of equal qualification were required.

The certainty of witnesses that the payment of equal time rates would drive women out of all those industrial occupations, or sections of occupations, in which they were doing similar or the same work as men, was justified by their evidence as to the comparative output of women and men on such work both before and during the war on time rates and on piece rates. The trend of this evidence was, as might have been expected, in the direction of showing that in all the occupations involving heavy and fatiguing work or technical skill the woman's productive power was less than the man's, the difference diminishing in proportion to the extent that machinery embodying the science of the designer and the skill of the tool-maker and actuated by the power supplied by the coal-miner and the stoker reduced the need for skill and force more directly applied. In Chapter V. of this report the different factors that will make possible the wider employment of women in industry have been discussed, and as these factors are developed, the relative value of women's work to men's, in what have been mainly men's operations will increase and there will be an expansion in the comparatively narrow

range in industry proper of absolute equality, taking not only quantity and quality into account but also the other considerations that affect the value of service. But this expansion would be prevented by the enforcement of a rule that a woman must be paid more than her economic value as measured by her productive power or not be employed at all. Such a rule would restrict the employment of women more than it was restricted before the war, and woman would lose a definite place in industry which she could never hope to recover without an increase in her productive power which the application of the rule would lessen her chance of attaining.

It may be argued that if for reasons of national policy it is desirable to give women opportunities of undertaking work or duties in which men are engaged this can be done under the principle of equal time rates in so far as employment under the State or work for the State are concerned. This is true, but if the Government so adopted a method of payment, rejected by the ordinary employer as economically faulty, and to the women with output of, say, two-thirds of men's, the same wages were paid as to the men, the probable effect would be that the men doing 50 per cent. more work than the women would either claim more pay with the result of a differentiated rate or reduce their standard of work to that of the women with the result of lessened production. The experiment would have failed or would have succeeded at the cost of demoralisation.

214. Principle of "Equal Pay for Equal Work," or Pay in Proportion to Efficient Output.—We are unable to recommend at this juncture of the national life a change bringing such doubtful advantages to men and fraught with such serious injury to women as we believe would result from the adoption of the formula of "equal time rates." We are of opinion that women will be able to improve their position and that men will be adequately protected by the reasonable application of the alternative principle embodied in the stricter interpretation of the formula "equal pay for equal work." This principle of pay in proportion to efficient output is generally adopted so far as piece rates are concerned, the cases of different piece rates for men and women doing the same job being exceptional. Its extension to time rates is logical. If it be fair that a person who completes 40 articles in a week should only get two-thirds of the earnings of a person who completes 60 articles, it cannot be unfair that the person who produces 40 units of output (however the unit is measured) should receive two-thirds of the earnings of the person producing 60 units. An intermediate step in the extension to time rates of the principle now under consideration is guaranteed time rates to women on piece work, such as were introduced by the Ministry of Munitions during the war, which should bear to the men's guaranteed rate the same ratio as do the women's to the men's average piece-work earnings.

215. Effect of Adoption of this Principle on Men Workers.—The real ground for the objection to the formula of "equal pay for equal work" as now interpreted is the fear lest under it women should lower men's standard of wage or keep men out of employment by under-cutting rates. Though we are keenly desirous of extending the employment of women and thereby improving its conditions, we fully realise that no risk must be run of such an injury to men. We believe, however, that the principle now advocated will tend to open avenues of employment to the women at times of expanding trade, and to make the productiveness of

the country more equal to the requirements of an increased consumption, while at the same time it will leave to the man the advantages which, apart from relative productive power, will secure him from unfair competition and enable him to maintain a proper standard of living for himself and his family. The pre-war unregulated relation of men's and women's wages excluded the woman from trades in which the war has enabled her to show her efficiency while allowing her to work in processes now recognised as unsuitable. It is believed that the principle of "equal time rates" would keep women out of employment long after their work was required in the best interests of the country. That of "equal pay for equal work" is a middle course from which, if carefully but generously applied, healthful results may be anticipated.

It is a middle course because while on the one hand it proposes to take into account the relative productivity of the man and the woman worker in the particular work on which they are engaged on time-work it does not propose to make allowance, any more than when they are on piece-work, for other disadvantages from which women in industry suffer compared with men. The employment of women imposes at the present time on industrial employers certain direct expenses not incident to the same degree in the case of the employment of men. Such expenses are, for example, in connection with the provision of canteens, cloak rooms, lavatories, &c. Although a considerable improvement in the character of comparable accommodation for men, and increased expense in connection with it may be anticipated in the future, it is probable there will always be greater expense to the employer in such matters where women are employed, and not men, and certainly where women are taken on in addition to men duplication of this accommodation is involved. In addition, from circumstances peculiar to their sex and from the fact that many women have domestic duties to fulfil, the amount of absence (often without notice) through illness and owing to domestic causes, of late starting, and of lost time, is proportionately greater with women than with men. As a consequence, apart from any difference of industrial efficiency between women and men during the time actually worked, an employer would find it necessary to have a larger number of women than men on his books in relation to a given output and this is in itself a disadvantage. Women are also generally said to cost more in supervision. There are certain State restrictions, of which the most important is that forbidding employment on night work, which are applied generally to women in industry and are not applied to men. To these advantages, which we believe in existing circumstances to be real and are certainly general in the minds of employers, there must be added a predilection of men to employ men when they can get them.

In these circumstances there can be no fear that the adoption of the principle of equal pay for equal work will lead to the unemployment of men. The fear is rather that it may fail to secure its object of extending the employment of women in directions in which it would add most to the productiveness of the country and react most on their own value with consequent improvement in their position. The principle must, however, have a greater tendency to this end than the more exclusive formula of equal time rates, and by admitting women more easily into industry will lead to a quicker response to the demand that is coming for increased labour to make up for the little useful production of the war period and to create sufficient commodities for the satisfaction of all the people. With their employment extended in these circumstances there will be a tendency for the productiveness of women to increase and for the two formulæ to come close together in their application.

216. **Effect of Adoption of Principle on Women Workers.**

An objection to the principle of payment in proportion to efficient output was put before us, ostensibly in the interests of women, to the effect that if a woman is not capable of the same output as a man in any occupation the very fact indicates that the particular occupation is not suited to her. This objection seems to us fallacious. A woman working within her own strength may produce with ease and comfort four-fifths of a man's output, though it may strain her powers to equal his output. At most athletic games at which both the men and women play, the women cannot compete with the men but they nevertheless derive benefit from the games. The objection in so far as it is based on the interests of the woman's health has greater application to the equal time rate formula which might well result in the exceptional woman, whom it is intended to admit to men's occupations, straining herself to keep within the margin of efficiency allowed by the employer in the case of men. In considering women's interests it must be remembered also that the occupations unsuitable to women are not necessarily those in which their productivity is low compared with men's. Where for any reasons it is agreed that occupations are unsuitable for any particular class of workers it is better that they should be excluded by direct action, *i.e.*, State restrictions or demarcation agreements between employers and workpeople than by manipulation of wages. It does not by any means appear in the interests of the country as a whole, apart from the particular interests of men or women, that women should be excluded from an occupation in which men are employed merely because their output in that occupation is normally less than men. Four-fifths of a man's production by a woman in such an industry may be of much more value to the nation than would have been her employment in a woman's industry. It was obviously so in the war when domestic servants were boring cannon, and may readily be so when the main women's occupations become again overcrowded in peace.

217. Adoption of Principle and its Application to Industry.—For all these reasons the Committee adopt the principle of "equal pay for equal work" in the sense that pay should be in proportion to efficient output.

The difficulty will be to secure its adoption by employers and employed, and its reasonable application to the varying circumstances of the different industrial, commercial and professional occupations. It is, of course, not to be applied individually, but as between women as a class and men as a class. As in the case of men employed on time the women employed at the rate equivalent to their efficient output will have to come within certain limits of efficiency to justify their being taken on or continued in work. For the reasons already given, it cannot be expected that employers will take on women to do, under the formula, the work, or any part of the work, previously performed by men until under the natural pressure of economic or social forces some shortage of men has occurred. It is not contemplated that their introduction should then be arbitrarily effected by the employer or direction or management concerned, but that it should be negotiated or agreed with the men affected. The difficulty of such negotiations has been represented to us, inasmuch as the employer alone has at his disposal the data to show whether the women's output is equal to the men's, or what the true proportion should be. We think this difficulty has been exaggerated. It was not found insuperable during the war, when many agreements were made between employers, or federations

of employers, and trade unions, which stipulated either for lower time rates for women, *e.g.*, not to be less than four-fifths, or, more vaguely, that women should receive the same rates as men for an equivalent amount of work. Associations of labour have not found insurmountable difficulty in assessing output for the purpose of fixing piece prices, nor have time rates always been followed without regard to cost.

Moreover, new machinery has been set up during and since the War which should facilitate dealing with just such difficulties as may arise in the fixing of wages under the selected formula in occupations in which it may be desirable to introduce women. Among the subjects with which Mr. Whitley's Sub-Committee on Relations between Employers and Employed suggested that the proposed National Industrial Councils should deal or allocate to District Councils or Works Committee were "Methods of fixing and adjusting earnings, piecework prices, &c., and of dealing with the many difficulties which arise with regard to the method and amount of payment apart from the fixing of general rates." Under such a reference would legitimately come the fixing of wages so that women's time rates should bear to that of men the proportion of their efficient output, and in the less organized or unorganized trades, or parts of trades, Trade Boards under Section 10 the Act of 1918 could make a recommendation to Government to which effect could be given, at any rate in Government Contracts. The general success of Industrial Councils depends so much on the readiness of employers and employed freely to exchange information that it is useless to consider the possibility of their not doing so in the particular matter under discussion. It is essential if the women are to receive fair treatment in this matter that they should have adequate representation on the Councils.

218. Application of Principle where Women do part only of Man's Job.—Industrial Councils will have little difficulty in dealing with cases in which it is desired to introduce women to do the whole of a man's job where it is recognized that either immediately or after a probationary period they are of efficiency equal to that of the men. If admitted to the job they should be paid either immediately, or after a probationary period, the length and conditions of which should be definitely laid down, the men's time rate. The case is more difficult when it is proposed to put women on to do on time "part only" of a job, or "part only" of the work ordinarily done by a man on time. Such proposals have created keen controversy in the past. The man fears that his value, due to the skill he has acquired in a number of operations and represented by the standard rate he has after many struggles gained for himself, will be depreciated if women are put on, as was done during the war, to specialise on particular jobs, or portions of the work previously done by men, at which they will acquire efficiency equal to that of men. There is, secondly, ever present with the men this apprehension: in certain industries in this country, in which remuneration has been on a piece work or premium bonus basis, short-sighted employers have in the past used subdivision as a mode of reducing piece prices and time allowances. There is, consequently, a latent suspicion in the minds of most workmen that subdivision, whatever may be the attendant conditions, is directly or indirectly inimical to their interests. Thirdly, the workman is afraid that the effect of subdivision will be to give the easier portions of the work to women, and leave him with the harder portions at the old rates of pay which covered both the easy and the difficult parts of his work.

On the other hand, it is an indispensable element in the natural evolution of industry, on which progress largely depends, that there should be a continual simplification of process, a continual invention and adaptation of machines to do mechanically what has previously been done by hand. There has been at various stages in our industrial history, perhaps not unnaturally, much obstruction offered by the workmen in sections of industry to the introduction and improvement of machines. But that may now be characterised, by more or less general industrial consent, as a mistaken policy. The increased production resulting from increased mechanical efficiency has invariably led to expansion of business, and additional employment. Where operations previously performed, for example, by a skilled tradesman are, by advance in mechanical knowledge, handed over for execution on a machine, and that machine can, by reason of its semi-automatic design, or from the use of jigs and fool-proof devices, be operated by less skilled labour, it is generally accepted in industry that the machine may be operated by the lesser skilled labour at a lower time rate than the skilled man's time rate. By way of illustration, reference may be made to the fact that while engine-lathes are almost universally operated by a skilled turner, turret and capstan lathes, which are simplified engine-lathes, are operated by semi-skilled labour at a time rate lower than the skilled man's time rate. Increased production in the immediate future is vital to the nation. Though other factors are involved in increased production, simplification of process and simplified machines are among the most important. Where such a simplified process, or simplified machine is of the type that in the past has been assigned to a class of worker of lower skill and remuneration, it is essential that nothing should prevent the same thing continuing in the future. But the time rate for the simplified process and the simplified machine ought to be a time rate fixed in regard to the nature of the work and the skill required of the operative.

When, therefore, a woman is put on to do on time "part only" of the job or work of a man, the two controlling considerations in regard to the remuneration appear to us to be as follows: On the one hand the introduction must not be allowed to afford a device merely to secure cheap labour. On the other, if she is employed, as is likely, to perform part of a man's job or work on a simplified process or machine the fact that she is a woman must not be allowed to exclude application of the ordinary practice that we have referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Applying these two considerations to the "part only" case where there has been subdivision of a man's job or work without any bona-fide simplification of process or machine and a woman is put on to do a "part only" of the job or work, we consider that the wages should be regulated so that the labour cost to the employer of the whole job should not be lessened while the payment to the persons engaged on it should be proportioned to their respective labour contributions. This can be illustrated by a simple example. Suppose a job carried out completely by a man takes one working hour to complete and consists of two parts, a simple part which takes one-third of an hour, and a more difficult part which takes two-thirds of an hour. A woman of equal efficiency to the man is put on to work continuously on the simple part of the job. As the more difficult part occupies twice as long, two men are required to keep pace with her. In two hours the woman gets through six of the simple operations, the two men get through in the same time six of the more difficult; so that six complete jobs are carried out by the two men

and one woman in six working hours, being at the rate of one job per working hour, exactly the same rate as that which the man himself previously performed the whole job. If three men engaged on the work receive £3 a week each before the subdivision, £3 5s. for each of the two men, and £2 10s. for the woman engaged on it after the subdivision might be a reasonable arrangement. If, however, appreciably increased profits resulted from the subdivision, some addition to the total of £9 should properly be added to the wages of the three workers.

The case becomes somewhat more complicated where the introduction of a woman follows on bona-fide simplification of process or machine. In such cases the time rates for the simplified process or simplified machine should be determined as if this was to be allocated to male labour less skilled than the male labour employed before simplification. Only where it was definitely shown by employers that the value of the woman's work on the simplified process or machine was less than the value of the work of an unskilled man, should the woman, if her introduction is agreed to, receive less than the unskilled man's rate in proportion to the lower value of her work.

219. Assumption of Equality of Output unless Inequality shown.—This leads to the enunciation of a general rule which we consider should guide the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work. In each occupation in which men and women are employed on the same job and the job is a man's job, the woman introduced should *prima facie* be paid the man's rate. The burden of proof in every case in which the employer maintains that the woman's work produces less than the man's should rest on the employer who should also have to produce evidence to the satisfaction of the workpeople or of the Industrial Council or Arbitration Tribunal of the lower value of the woman's work to which the fixed sum to be deducted from the men's rate for the particular job throughout the whole of the industry should strictly correspond. For any job in which the men had no definite or fixed rate the women's rate would be deemed the man's average rate in that job less the authorised deduction.

220. Assumption as to what is Man's Work.—The principle we have recommended, in so far as it is intended to facilitate the introduction of women into occupations which before the war were men's occupations, when in the interests of the national productiveness this is advisable, applies mainly to the second category of occupations referred to at the commencement of this chapter, that is to occupations with demarcation between men's and women's work or duties. These, as we have seen, cover the bulk of the occupations in industry proper. Though often the lines of demarcation are artificial, it is rarely that they do not exist, and in these exceptional cases the question of equal pay for equal work does not, as a rule, arise, the work being already on an identical piece work rate for men and women as in cotton weaving, or being carried out under dissimilar conditions, as for instance when women working only by day and men by night, of which woolcombers and telegraphists are examples. There are, however, many cases where women's work in one district, or in one factory, is men's in another district or another factory, and in such cases the further intention of the formula, viz. :—to raise the wage position of women already in occupations where they are doing similar or the same work as men has application. Every job on which women are employed doing the same work as men for less wages should be considered for the purpose of fixing women's wages a man's job and the wages regulated in the manner above recommended.

221. Application of Principle to Commercial and Clerical Occupations.—This applies to the large bulk of commercial and clerical employment which comes generally under the third category of the classification above mentioned; namely, occupations without distinctive demarcation between men's and women's work, and between men's and women's duties. It is true that in some classes of shops only men are appropriately employed and in others only women, but in many establishments in London and in most in the provinces, men and women are employed together. The adoption of the formula "equal pay for equal work," will probably result in a wage to women higher than it is at present in comparison with men's wages, justified by the relative efficiency of their work compared to that of men as shop assistants. We see no reason to believe that such a rise would check the increase in the employment of women that was going on for some time before the war, and received such a large impetus during its course.

In clerical work there is still less real demarcation, and it has probably been rather the employment of women at lower wages than have been given to men that has kept them to the lower grades of work than any relation between their efficiency. On the whole, we are inclined to believe that the same payment would, owing to her relatively smaller needs, attract a more efficient woman than man, and that the formula "equal pay for equal work," will merge in this case into that of "the rate for the job," without there being any fear of women being thereby ousted from employment.

222. Application of Principle to Teaching Profession.—That the teaching profession with its rate of payment to women approximating to that of its payment to men has greater attractiveness to women is being manifested by the increasing difficulty of obtaining men teachers. It points to the profession becoming more largely even than it is at present women's employment, men being paid a sufficient salary to attract the proper class of teacher for the upper grades in boys' schools, this being an exclusively male duty. In this sense the profession becomes demarcated. The whole subject of the relation of men's and women's salaries in the teaching profession was considered as recently as last year by two Departmental Committees. That which dealt with teachers in Elementary Schools reported as follows:—

"In our view any scale of salaries whether for men or for women should offer an adequate provision, and as the schools cannot be efficiently staffed by teachers of one sex, the cases of men and women call for separate consideration. By adequate we mean that the scale of salary offered must be good enough to attract a sufficient number of recruits suitable for the work to be done, to retain them while other careers are still open, and to secure service of the desired quality from those who adopt teaching as their life work. The ratepayers and taxpayers of the country cannot in our view with justice be asked to undertake the burden of paying, whether to men or to women, higher salaries than such as are adequate in the sense in which we have used the word; and we are satisfied that in existing circumstances a scale of salaries which is adequate for women teachers is not adequate for men. We cannot, therefore, recommend equal payment as a general principle on which scales for men and women teachers should be constructed. . . . If a reasonably good maximum salary is offered to a certificated master,

we think that in average circumstances, a woman of similar standing should be offered a salary rising to not less than three-fourths of that maximum. We must not be interpreted as placing emphasis on the exact proportion we name; we suggest it rather as a convenient starting point for the examination of the question by individual authorities."

The Committee that dealt with teachers in Secondary Schools also came to the conclusion that the salary that will attract a woman will not necessarily attract a man with similar qualifications owing largely to the fact that, under existing social and fiscal conditions, financial liabilities fall on a man in connection with his responsibility for his family which do not fall on a woman. They considered that in present social and economic conditions differences between men's and women's salaries after the first few years of service appeared inevitable.

The conclusion which we have drawn from these carefully considered opinion is that in order to maintain the principle of "equal pay for equal work" in cases where it is essential to employ men and women of the same grade of capacity and training, but where equal pay will not attract the same grade it may be necessary for the State to counteract the difference of attractiveness by a payment for the services rendered to the State in connection with the continuance of the race, or, in other words, by the payment of children's allowances to married men. The application of this principle would not be entirely without precedent. The difficulties of making it general have been dealt with in another part of this Report. Those difficulties are probably less in connection with the teaching profession than in connection with most other occupations in view of the fact that the State largely contributes towards the maintenance of schools by Local Authorities, and can choose within limits the method in which its contribution shall be made. We suggest that this subject should receive very careful consideration from His Majesty's Government.

223. Application of Principle to Civil Service.—Passing to the application of the principle of "equal pay for equal work," to the services under the National Government, we advise its early and full adoption in cases of the manipulative branches of those services. The question of the relative value of the work of men and women on the same duties would be for the consideration of the Whitley Council which, it is understood, the Government proposes to set up for the Civil Service. We suggest that in the case of Post Office duties, the question of the men having late hours or night work should not be allowed to complicate that of the relative value of their work to the women's, but should be provided for by an extra allowance to persons undertaking common duties under disagreeable conditions, a principle that might also be adopted in industry generally.

The clerical and administrative branches of the Civil Service formed the subject of a Report of the Royal Commission in 1914 which specifically dealt with the relation between payments made to men and women. The majority of the Commission recommended that in so far as the character and conditions of the work performed by women in the Civil Service approximate to identity with the character and conditions of the work performed by men, the pay of women should approximate to equality with that of men. Their evidence indicated the various reasons why women's services were less efficient, on the whole, than those of men, and in so far as this difference of efficiency existed they believed that the

salaries of men should remain higher than those of women. They added, however:—

“ But the actual differences in salaries which have been brought before us do not seem to result from any general consideration of the problem. For instance, we find that highly-qualified women Inspectors receive, in many cases, salaries little more than one-half of those paid to men Inspectors of similar grade employed in the same Department. We therefore recommend that the Treasury should institute a general enquiry with the object of removing inequalities of salary not based on differences in the efficiency of service.”

The important minority of the Royal Commission dealt with the subject at greater length, but somewhat less definitely, as follows:—

“ Finally, there is the proposition that no distinction should be made between men and women in respect of rate of remuneration. Here we think that the answer to the riddle will best be found by leaving it to the play of circumstance rather than by attempting to define a dogma with precision. It may be asked: ‘ If work is paid for by results, should the piece work rates be the same for men and women? ’ To this we conceive that, *prima facie*, the answer would be in the affirmative. But the question cannot be so simply answered, because all experience, we believe, goes to prove that, from various causes leading to less continuity and concentration of exertion, a woman’s output of work in a given time is ordinarily less than that of a man; and the time taken on work is a material consideration to an employer, seeing that it affects the number of persons to be employed, the provision of plant and accommodation, and so on. Therefore, if in piece work rates a difference between men and women is justifiable, still more must there be a difference in rates when work is paid for by time and not by results; and thus it follows that the fixing of annual salary for women at a somewhat lower rate than that assigned to men doing similar work is not necessarily a violation of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women. What acceptance of the principle comes to seems really to be this: that for single situations, where the quality and the quantity of the work can be measured with accuracy, the salary should be the same for a woman as for a man; but that for situations grouped in large classes the salaries, when women are employed in them, should be somewhat lower than if the staff were male. Understood in this sense, we accept the principle.”

Both these Reports were in the direction of our recommendation of “ equal pay for equal work.” We are not aware if the general Treasury enquiry advocated by the majority has, as yet, been undertaken, and can only urge that, if it has not, it should be put in hand with the least possible delay. We think that the closer approximation of equality in pay should be accompanied by the grant of greater equality of opportunity; we recommend the abolition of the special grades for women clerks, and we propose that there should be no separate examination for men and women seeking entrance to the several grades of the Service. We consider, however, that Government Departments should, like private employers, have within their discretion the proportion of women to be employed in any branch or grade.

We foresee that if these recommendations are adopted there may come a time when, owing to the pressure of women for still greater equality

of opportunity and to the greater attractiveness of the salaries to women, a similar condition of affairs may arise to that which is being approached with the closer approximation to equality in the pay of men and women teachers. We think that when that time arrives a similar remedy to that which we have suggested in the case of the teaching profession should be applied in the case of the Civil Service.

224. Application of Principle to Government Industrial Establishments and Contracts.—Finally, we recommend that the State should support the application to industry of the principle of "equal pay for equal work" by applying it with the least possible delay to its own establishments and, as soon as an Industrial Council or Trade Board have advised any relation between the wages of men and women in any occupation or job, by making the maintenance of that relation a condition of any Government contract involving the employment of workpeople in that occupation or job.

PART III.

GOVERNMENT PLEDGES AFFECTING WOMEN'S WAGES DURING THE WAR.

225. **Allegations as to Non-Fulfilment of Pledges.**—In the early part of our enquiry allegations were made by witnesses appearing on behalf of the National Federation of Women Workers,* the Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers,† the Labour Research Department of the Labour Party‡ that certain pledges, given by the Government on which the Trade Unions had agreed to the suspension of their restrictions during the war, had not been carried out. The pledges, of which the non-fulfilment was alleged, are contained in a document known as the Treasury Agreement of March 19th, 1915, for the acceleration of output on Government work, of which a copy is contained in Appendix IV.A.

The allegations were to the effect:—

- (1) That the provisions for the remuneration of women employed on work customarily done by men, which were originally embodied in a Circular known as L.2., setting forth the recommendations of the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee of October, 1915 (Appendix IV.B), and were repeated in Statutory Rules and Orders issued by the *Ministry of Munitions*, did not fulfil the pledge that the relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions, or admission of semi-skilled or female labour, should not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job, contained in the Treasury Agreement, in that they did not provide that women employed on work customarily done by men, *other than fully skilled tradesmen* should be paid the *time rates* of the men whose work they undertook.
- (2) That the *Admiralty* and *War Office* failed to carry out the above quoted pledge, in that they did not adopt the provisions of the Circular L.2. that women employed on work customarily done by *fully skilled tradesmen* should be paid the *time rates* of the men whose work they undertake.
- (3) That the *Ministry of Munitions* did not carry out the above quoted pledge, in that the payment, subsequent to March, 1917, of *different war advances* for men and women involved in effect the payment of different piece rates and, when the same time rates were paid to women doing fully skilled men's work, of different time rates.
- (4) That whereas the Treasury Agreement made the recommendation of the Workmen's Representatives to their Unions as to changes in working conditions or trade customs dependent on the acceptance by the Government of the above quoted pledge as applicable to all contracts for the execution of war munitions and equipments, this application was limited under Section 4 and Schedule II of the Munitions of War Act, 1915.

* Miss Mary Macarthur. Appendix I.B, p. 14.

† Messrs. W. H. Hutchinson and P. Dickenson. Appendix I.B, p. 58.

‡ Mr. G. D. H. Cole. Appendix I.B, p. 44.

to controlled establishments and, by Section 6 of the Munitions of War (Amendment) Act of 1916, as regards the rates of wages of women employed on munitions of war, to such controlled establishments as the Minister of Munitions may by order give directions. It is alleged that the pledge has not been applied to contracts for *clothing, equipment, and other stores, &c.*, not included in the narrower meaning of munitions of war.

- (5) That the Ministry of Munitions failed to secure the complete compliance of controlled firms with the Orders intended to give effect to the Treasury Agreement, and that other Departments of Government dealing with uncontrolled firms failed to promulgate Orders to them.

226.—I. Failure of Ministry of Munitions to give Men's time rates to Women doing work of semi-skilled or unskilled Men. The Treasury Agreement and its interpretation.—What is known as the Treasury Agreement is a document* in writing dated March 19th, 1915, signed by two representatives of the Government, viz., Mr. Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, and by Mr. Arthur Henderson as Chairman, and Mr. William Mosses as Secretary of the workers' representatives. The document was the result of a conference, summoned by the Government on March 17th, 1915, and of negotiations which took place on that day between the Government and the men's representatives, assisted by committees on both sides, and were continued on March 18th, and concluded on March 19th. The document is headed, "Acceleration of Output on Government Work," and is stated to be a memorandum of proposals which the workmen's representatives agreed to recommend to their members at a conference with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade, held at the Treasury on March 17-19, 1915. The document contains an agreement by the workers' representatives that they will make recommendations to their members both as to stoppage of work and as to relaxation of Trade Union customs. The paragraphs with regard to the latter are as follows:—

Para. (4).—Provided that the conditions set out in paragraph (5) are accepted by the Government as applicable to all contracts for the execution of war munitions and equipments, the workmen's representatives at the conference are of opinion that during the war period the relaxation of the present trade practices is imperative, and that each Union be recommended to take into favourable consideration such changes in working conditions or trade customs as may be necessary with a view to accelerating the output of war munitions or equipments.

Para. (5).—The recommendations contained in paragraph (4) are conditional on the Government requiring all contractors and sub-contractors engaged on munitions and equipments of war or other work required for the satisfactory completion of the war to give an undertaking to the following effect:—

- * * * * *
- (iv) Where the custom of a shop is changed during the war by the introduction of semi-skilled men to perform work hitherto performed by a class of workmen of higher skill, the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work.

- (v) The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected thereby, the necessary readjustment shall be made so that they can maintain their previous earnings.

Varying interpretations were put upon these words by the witnesses called before us. Government officials differed amongst themselves, as did Trade Union officials. We have not thought it satisfactory to restrict our efforts to an attempt merely to construe the written document as it stands. It seems to us important in a labour dispute to try to ascertain what each party really meant, whether in the result they each meant the same thing, and, if so, whether the written document expresses the agreement in fact concluded. We were referred by several witnesses to what was said on one side or the other in the course of the negotiations; and as we have had before us a fairly complete record of what took place and of the various drafts that led up to the agreement in its final form, we are in a favourable position to review the whole circumstances: though we were not fortunate enough to obtain the drafts until the last day upon which we heard evidence.

227. Reports of Committee on Production of February 20th and March 4th, 1915.—In order to appreciate the language of the Treasury Agreement it is necessary to start with the Reports of the Committee on Production, then styled the Committee on Production in Engineering and Shipbuilding Establishments engaged on Government work. That Committee, on February 20th, 1915, presented a second Interim Report upon:—

- A. Production of Shells and Fuzes for Shells, &c.
- B. Avoidance of Stoppage of Work.
- C. Guarantee to Workpeople.

They recommended under A that there should be an extension of the employment of female labour on the production of shells and fuzes; under B, that there should be no stoppage of work for Government by reason of labour disputes and that disputes should be referred to an impartial Tribunal; and under C, as follows:—

“In order to safeguard the position of the Trade Unions and of the workpeople concerned, we think that each contracting firm should give an undertaking, to be held on behalf of the Unions, in the following terms:—

To His Majesty's Government.

We hereby undertake that any departure during the war from the practice ruling in our workshops and shipyards prior to the war shall only be for the period of the war.

No change in practice made during the war shall be allowed to prejudice the position of the workpeople in our employment or of their Trade Unions in regard to the resumption and maintenance after the war of any rules or customs existing prior to the war.

In any readjustment of staff which may have to be effected after the war, priority of employment will be given to workmen in our employment at the beginning of the war who are serving with the colours or who are now in our employment.

Name of Firm

Date

Any difference which may arise under this head which cannot be settled by the parties directly concerned or their representatives, should be referred as suggested in our recommendation: "Avoidance of Stoppage of Work."

On March 4th, 1915, the Committee made a third Interim Report dealing with:—

A. Demarcation of Work.

B. Utilisation of Semi-skilled or Unskilled Labour.

Under A, after stating that one class of restrictions to which their attention had been directed were those resulting from practices and customs connected with demarcation of work between different classes of workpeople employed in the engineering and shipbuilding trades and that they had had extended consultations with the Trade Unions concerned, they proceed to state that, in their opinion, the demarcation restrictions then existing in regard to the work of the different skilled trades in the engineering and shipbuilding industries should be suspended during the continuance of the war and should be accompanied by certain safeguards. Those safeguards include:—

(3) That the relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where the men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected by relaxations, the necessary readjustments should be mutually arranged.

Under B, they recommend that it should be open to employers to make greater use of unskilled and semi-skilled labour under proper safeguards and the safeguards suggested are those set out at C in the second Interim Report quoted above.

228. Shells and Fuzes Agreement of March 5th, 1915.—

On March 5th, 1915, an agreement was made between the Engineering Employers' Federation and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Steam Engine Makers' Society, United Machine Workers' Association, Amalgamated Society of Toolmakers, &c., relating to the production of shells and fuzes. This agreement, no doubt, was the direct consequence of the second Interim Report of the Committee on Production.

The main relevant clause of the agreement was:—

6. Operations on which skilled men are at present employed, but which, by reason of their character, can be performed by semi-skilled or female labour, may be done by such labour during the war period.

Where semi-skilled or female labour is employed in place of skilled labour, the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district obtaining for the operations performed.

The other clauses are mainly designed to protect the position of the existing craftsmen during and after the war.

229. **Proceedings of Conference on March 17th, 1915.**—We now come to the conference at the Treasury on March 17th. The Chancellor of the Exchequer addressed the assembled representatives. He pointed out the need for an altered organisation of the industries of the country in order to secure a much larger output on munitions. As to the employers, the Government proposed:—

(a) To take control of works.

(b) To limit profits.

As to the workmen, the Government desired:—

(a) To avoid stoppage of Government work owing to trade disputes.

The Chancellor read out the Government proposals in the terms of the recommendations at B of the second Interim Report of the Committee on Production and suggested three alternatives for the settlement of disputes, in substance the three eventually adopted.

(b) To suspend owing to the war all restrictions of output, including the number of machines which one man is permitted to attend, the employment of semi-skilled labour and the employment of female labour.

Members of the conference at once raised the question of the safeguards necessary to restore after the war the existing position, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government proposed certain safeguards, which he read.

These are, verbatim, the recommendations at C of the second Interim Report of the Committee on Production.

The conference then adjourned and later in the day met again. The men had appointed a Committee of seven—Messrs. Arthur Henderson, of the Moulders, J. T. Brownlie, of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Frank Smith, of the Shipbuilding Trades Agreement Committee, C. W. Bowerman, Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, John Hill, Boilermakers, A. Wilkie, Shipwrights, William Mosses, Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades—and had submitted a draft to the Government. The terms appear in a paper which was printed next day. In substance, it recommends the adoption of the Government proposals upon certain conditions. We are only concerned at present with those that relate to what is called dilution, and the clause as drawn runs as follows:—

“Where semi-skilled or female labour is employed in place of skilled labour the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district obtaining for the operations performed, and in case of any worker being unable to earn the usual rate of wages, the difference in earnings shall be made up to the rates paid prior to the innovation.”

It will be noticed that the first part of the clause is taken verbatim from Clause 6 of the Shells and Fuzes Agreement of March 5th, 1915.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that he would desire further time to consider the draft, but that in the meantime there were two or three points that he was not quite clear about, and he would ask the Committee what they meant. The Conference adjourned till next day, the Committee remaining behind, and attention was at once drawn to the above clause, and by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to its second part.

The discussion is as follows:—

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: I think the first point about which we have some doubt comes on page 4. It is the interpolation in the typewritten copy. I do not want you to argue it, but to tell us exactly what it means.

Mr. Arthur Henderson: I will try to explain. This point has already been agreed upon in a Government document during the war period. I think Sir George Askwith has that document in his hand. It is only a question of wording, but we do not wish to stick to the wording if the principle is granted us.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: What is the principle?

Mr. Arthur Henderson: The principle is that in the transfer of a man from one class of work to another, especially if they are working on piece-work if a man is not able to earn his former rate, by working piece-work on new work, we should put into operation a principle which has often been put into operation, that his former rate should be guaranteed him.

Mr. Wilkie: Will you allow me to supplement that? Take cases which occur every day at Birmingham. The drillers have a proper price list. They are proposing to bring in other men, and the skilled men will go on what we call the hole and corner work; that is, the most difficult work.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: What is that?

Mr. Wilkie: Holes and difficult work to do. The highly skilled man has to go and do that, and he cannot make the same money as he does when he has a long run along.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: That is exactly what we thought.

Mr. Wilkie: He does not do that because they are bringing in other men.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: That would reduce his earnings?

Mr. Wilkie: Yes.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: You want to protect the earnings of the men already in?

Mr. Wilkie: Yes.

Mr. Arthur Henderson: You would strike his average earnings?

Mr. Wilkie: It is arranged with the representatives, the men, and the firm that he gets what he has been earning before he goes on this difficult work.

Mr. Brownlie: Prior to the innovation.

Sir George Askwith: We went into this matter very carefully, and we worded it in a manner which I understand Mr. Butterworth rather agrees with, as follows:—"Relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In the cases where men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected by relaxation the necessary readjustment shall be mutually arranged." That covers the point.

Mr. Wilkie: That covers the point; we do it every day.

The Chancellor then proceeded to ask about the first part of the clause:—

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: Another point that has been put since we have met is on the same paragraph: "Where female labour is employed in place of skilled labour the rate should be the usual rate." Do you propose that women should be paid the same?

Mr. Brownlie: Yes; I might explain that. This is the clause taken from the document handed to you this morning, which has been agreed by the Engineering Employers' Federation, the A.S.E. and kindred organisations, in conference last Friday. The object of this clause is this: Where we agree to semi-skilled labour, or female labour, being brought in for the production of shells and fuzes, the piece-work rate and the day-work rate shall be observed as the basis of payment, and the piece-work rates shall be paid for the operation in which they are engaged. That will avoid any attempt to reduce piece-work prices for the labour engaged. This work is largely done piece-work, and would depend on the skill of the operator.

Mr. Arthur Balfour: I am not suggesting it should not be put in, but is not that covered in principle already, because the whole theory is that we go back to pre-war conditions.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: The point is that you are bringing in for the first time women who have never been employed in this before, and in order to protect the skilled worker you want to make it a condition that those women must be paid exactly the same rate.

Mr. Brownlie: And the Engineering Employers' Federation have agreed to this.

Hon. E. S. Montagu: It only applies to piece-work.

Mr. Brownlie: Both piece-work and day work.

Mr. Walter Runciman: Day work as well.

Mr. Brownlie: District rates, and the rates paid for the operation for which they are engaged.

Mr. Walter Runciman: Time as well as piece.

Mr. Brownlie: It applies to day wages, piece-work wages and premium bonus times.

It seems to us tolerably clear that the first part of the claim which related to both semi-skilled and female labour was the provision relied on for determining the remuneration to be paid to the incomers under the new arrangement. The second part of the clause was intended to protect those who were already in, and the clause read by Sir George Askwith is taken from the third Interim Report of the Committee as one of the safeguards under "Demarcation of Work, (3)." Both clauses cannot have been intended to have the same operation, viz., to regulate the earnings of the semi-skilled and female labour. The point is of some importance as it will be found that eventually, with important modifications which will be referred to, the first part of the sentence became sub-para. (iv) and the second part in the form suggested by Sir George Askwith became sub-para. (v) of Paragraph (5) of the final document. It is also plain that at this stage the men proposed to include both men and women in the first part (as in the Shells and Fuzes Agreement) and that they made it clear that the provision was to extend to both time and piece rates.

230. Proceedings of Conference on March 18th, 1915.—On the next day, March 18th, the Chancellor of the Exchequer again met the Conference. There had already been some changes suggested in the draft, and the material passage of the proposals in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer ran as follows:—

"Where semi-skilled or female labour is employed in place of labour of higher skill, the piece rates paid shall be the usual rates of the districts obtaining for the operations performed. The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected thereby, the necessary readjustments shall be made so that they can maintain their previous earnings."

Upon this clause the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke as follows:—

"A more substantial point, and a point which involves the consideration of a very, very important matter, is that which comes at the end of the first page, about the employment of semi-skilled and female labour. As it is drafted, it is very wide, very sweeping, and very far-reaching, and we had to ascertain exactly what was in your mind, what your apprehensions were, and what it was you wanted to safeguard the position of labour against. I think I can say this: we agree that there must be safeguards against the things you apprehend; but we think the words here go very much further than that. We have not been able, for the moment, to hit upon any words which will meet the case, and I am afraid it will take some time, because we have the Admiralty to consult, the War Office to consult, and the Board of Trade to consult, and we should like to know exactly what their views are. We should also like to

know how it will affect the Admiralty arsenals. In its present form there is an apprehension that you will be introducing absolutely new practices into the arsenals as they exist. There is the real danger. But you do not want that, I know perfectly well. You want to safeguard yourselves against there being inducements for employers to keep semi-skilled men there at a lower rate of wages, therefore elbowing out other men. There we agree with you, and we think you are entitled to that safeguard. But we are afraid that the words as they are set down in this document will go very much further than that, and create a complete revolution in the existing practice to the extent of really encouraging men who are not doing their very best. That would be a very bad thing at the moment when we are doing our best to enable everyone to put out their full strength in turning out munitions of war."

He went on to say: "You see how very important it is that there should not be any ambiguity of any kind in the Agreement," and it was arranged that the Conference should be again adjourned to the next day.

It is to be observed that the first part of the clause quoted still regulates the earnings of both men and women dilutees, but limits the protection to piece rates; while the clause protecting the men already in has had added to it the underlined words. "The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job." The two parts of the clause in our view still retain their distinct functions. It was to the clause thus drawn that the Chancellor of the Exchequer objects on the point of its far-reaching operation.

As the result, no doubt, of this expression of opinion, the next draft shows an alteration. The clause has been split up into two, which read as follows:—

"Where under this arrangement semi-skilled men are employed owing to the war in place of labour of higher skill, the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work."

"The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected thereby, the necessary readjustments shall be made so that they can maintain their previous earnings."

In this form the question whether in the first clause the rate is defined as piece or otherwise is left open; attached to this draft is a slip containing the clause in what appeared to be its final form:—

"Where the custom of a shop is changed during the war by the introduction of semi-skilled men to perform work hitherto performed by a class of workmen of higher skill, the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work."

The important points to note are that:—

- (1) Female labour is eliminated from the clause.
- (2) The restriction to piece rates is also eliminated.

231. Deductions from Proceedings of Conference.—It seems to us that the obvious inference is that the parties intended to cut down the wide effect of the clause by giving the protection in

respect of male dilutees only: and that they did not mean, while withdrawing the protection in respect of female labour in the first clause, still to give the same protection, but in different words, in the second clause, still less to give the same protection in respect of male dilutees in both clauses. And we think that it was intended in the first clause not to limit the protection in respect of the semi-skilled man to piece rates, but to include, in the words of Mr. Brownlie dealing with the first draft, "day wages, piece work wages and premium bonus times."

There is an intermediate draft between the above and the final document, but these clauses remain unaltered in both.

Not only, therefore, is the provision as to the wages to be paid on the introduction of dilutees confined to men: but, as has been seen, the proposals of the original drafts to put female labour on the same footing as men in this respect, and eventually the reference to female labour were deliberately omitted. It seems to us, therefore, impossible to suppose, as contended, that the intention was that female labour was to be put on precisely the same footing as the semi-skilled men.

What then, was to be the position in respect of female labour?

232. Correspondence between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst on March 25th and March 26th, 1918, and inference therefrom.—The Treasury Agreement as finally signed seems to have been published in the press on March 25th, 1915, and on that date Miss Sylvia Pankhurst addressed to Mr. Lloyd George the following letter:—

25th March, 1915.

SIR,

In the memorandum published in the press to-day, of the agreement arrived at by the Conference at the Treasury, the following sentences occur:—

"Where the custom of a shop is changed during the war by the introduction of semi-skilled men to perform work hitherto performed by a class of workmen of higher skill, *the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work.* A relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions, or admission of semi-skilled or female labour, shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job."

The wording of these sentences is ambiguous. Does it mean that in the case of women, as is clearly stated in the case of semi-skilled men, that if they are employed to do "work hitherto performed by workmen of higher skill, the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work?" Or are we to understand that this provision made in the case of the semi-skilled man is not made in the case of women?

This question is one viewed with the greatest anxiety by the members of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, on whose behalf I write, and by all women all over the country who keenly desire that there shall be equal pay for equal work for both men and women.

I ask you to reply at your earliest convenience, in order that our minds may be set at rest.

Yours, etc.,

(Signed) SYLVIA PANKHURST.

It is to be noticed that the two clauses are run together, and that the latter part of the second is not included. Very probably this may

have been the form of the memorandum as appearing in the press. The answer is as follows:—

26th March, 1915.

DEAR MISS PANKHURST,

The words which you quote would guarantee that women undertaking the work of men would get the same piece rates as men were receiving before the date of this agreement. That, of course, means that if the women turn out the same quantity of work as men employed on the same job, they will receive exactly the same pay.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) D. LLOYD GEORGE.

Miss Pankhurst wrote again to the Chancellor of the Exchequer as follows:—

26th March, 1915.

DEAR MR. LLOYD GEORGE,

Many thanks for your letter with its valuable explanation that women are to receive the "same piece work rates as men were receiving before the date of this agreement." I conclude that the women will also receive any war bonus and increase of wages as a result of the war, which would have been paid had the men been employed. It is important to know, also, whether the same time rates are to apply in the case of women as those which were paid to men, because if this were not the case, employers might merely engage women to work on time rates to avoid paying the standard rates.

I hope that you will be able to give me a definite answer on this point, as you will understand how anxious women are in regard to the matter.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

To this letter no reply appears to have been sent. The answer given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the first letter is in accord with the meaning attributed to sub-para. (v) by both Sir Charles Harris and Mr. Mosses, who were both present at the Conference. We think that it should be inferred that it was in the minds of the parties, at any rate of the Government, that seeing that sub-para. (v) would maintain the piece rates paid to men continuing at the job, the piece rates would, in fact, be maintained for the benefit of all dilutees, including women; and that in this indirect way their equal remuneration at piece rates was provided for.

This view, limiting the agreement so far as it related to women's labour taking the place of men's to the maintenance of equal piece rates, is consistent with the attitude taken thereafter, both by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his speech to a deputation of women (July, 1915), and by the representatives of the workmen when it came to drafting the Circular L.2.

233. Proceedings in connection with drafting of Circular L.2 on September 24th and 27th, 1915, and October 1st, 1915.

—Circular L.2 originated at a meeting held on the 24th September of the Sub-Committee on Wages of the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee, which was constituted under paragraph (3) of the Treasury Agreement. Mr. Allan Smith, Secretary of the Engineering Employers' Federation, was in the Chair; Miss Mary Macarthur, of

the National Federation of Women Workers, Mr. Kaylor, of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and Mr. West, of the Ministry of Munitions, were present, and according to the minutes the following draft statement was agreed to:—

- "1. Where women are employed on time the minimum time rate shall be £1 a week.
 - "2. Women shall not be put on piece-work or on premium bonus systems until sufficiently qualified.
 - "3. Where women are prevented from working by breakdown or air raid or any cause beyond their control, the time so lost shall be paid for at the rate of 15s. per week, unless they are sent home.
 - "4. Where women are employed on piece-work they shall receive the same piece-work prices as are customarily paid to men for the job.
 - "5. Where women are engaged on premium bonus systems the time allowed for a job shall be that customarily allowed to men for the same job, and the earnings shall be calculated on the basis of the men's time rate.
 - "6. On the system of payment by results equal payment shall be made for an equal amount of work done.
 - "7. The above conditions do not apply to work recognised as women's work before the war.
 - "8. The foregoing time rates are to be computed on the normal working week of the men in the district in question."
- "A. Except in the case of women being employed in the place of skilled men, in which case the women shall be paid the same time rates as the skilled men."

It will be observed that, according to this statement, where women were employed on piece-work they were to receive the same piece-work prices as were customarily paid to men for the job. No such recommendation was made with regard to women employed on time, for whom a minimum rate of £1 a week was recommended, a note being added to the statement to the effect that in the case of women employed in the place of skilled men they should receive the time rates of these men.

At a meeting of the Sub-Committee on September 27th, at which only Mr. Allan Smith and Mr. Kaylor were present, the statement as regards women employed on time was expanded to read as follows:—

"Women employed on time, on work customarily done by men, shall be rated at £1 per week reckoned on the usual working hours of the district in question for men in engineering establishments. This, however, shall not apply in the case of women being employed on work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen, in which case the women shall be paid the time rates of the tradesmen whose work they undertake. Overtime and night shift and Sunday and holiday allowances payable to men shall also be made to women."

The proceedings of a further meeting held on October 1st, which are signed by Messrs. Allan Smith, West and Kaylor, contained the following minute:—

"The regulations regarding employment and remuneration of female workers are approved by Mr. West, as well as by Mr. Smith and Mr. Kaylor.

"Miss Macarthur approved of the basis upon which the regulations have been framed, but has not had an opportunity of discussing the regulations themselves."

In the regulations, as submitted, the rate of £1 per week for women

on work customarily done by men appears again as a minimum. The regulations were subsequently adopted by the Committee and transmitted to the Minister of Munitions, who, on the 14th October, accepted them provisionally as regards establishments for which the Ministry were directly responsible. At an interview with a deputation of the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee a few days later the proposal of the Ministry of Munitions that the £1 a week time rate for women on work customarily done by men other than skilled should be a definite and not a minimum rate was discussed. This was accepted in a letter from the Committee dated the 21st October, 1915. L.2. was then published as an instruction to munition factories under Government and a recommendation to those in private ownership.

Shortly afterwards, on November 17th, 1915, Mr. Arthur Henderson sent to the Minister of Munitions a memorandum approved by the Munitions Labour Supply Committee on the conditions of remuneration and employment in the new Filling Factories which contained a provision that where women were employed on piece-work on work which prior to the war was recognised as men's work in the district, they should be paid the same piece work prices as were customarily paid to men for the job. The provision as to time rates for women employed on such work was that they were to be paid 1*d.* an hour more than women on work not recognised as men's work prior to the war. There was no reference to equal time rates.

234. Proceedings in connection with issue of Order 49 on January 24th, 1917, and Inference therefrom and Opinion of Committee on first Allegation.—The passing of the Munitions of War (Amendment) Act on the 27th January, 1916, which enabled the Ministry to make orders regulating rates of wages of women employed on munitions work, brought up for reconsideration the question of these wages and some correspondence passed in the early part of February between the Ministry of Munitions and the Chairman of the Committee on the relations between the Second Schedule of the Act of 1915 and the provisions of L.2. But the claim that women employed on work customarily done by men, other than fully-skilled tradesmen, should be paid the time rates of the men whose work they undertook was not raised, and Order No. 49, issued in January, 1917, in succession to Circular L.2., did not contain, any more than did the statement of the Sub-Committee on Wages of the 24th September, 1915, any provision to this effect. We are confirmed by these proceedings in our view that the agreement, so far as it related to women's labour taking the place of men's, was limited to the maintenance of equal piece rates.

235.—II. Failure of Admiralty and War Office to adopt Circular L.2.—The second of the allegations as set forth above was that the Admiralty and War Office failed to carry out the pledge that the relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour should not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job, in that they did not adopt the provisions of the Circular L.2. that women employed on work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen should be paid the time rates of the tradesmen whose work they undertook.

This charge is taken to refer to direct employment under the Departments and not to employment under contractors to whom either the Statutory Orders under the Ministry of Munitions, including those based on L.2., *did* apply or to whom the Treasury Agreement was held by the Departments not to have reference, an opinion dealt with below in connection with the fourth allegation.

236. Admiralty Views.—As regards direct employment under the Admiralty, the position was made clear by a letter of the 6th June, 1917, from the Financial Secretary to the Admiralty to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers with reference to a complaint that women workers in Chatham Dockyard were not receiving rates of wages in accordance with the Ministry of Munitions Statutory Order 49, which embodied and expanded the terms of Circular L.2. In this letter it was stated that, though the Orders of the Ministry of Munitions did not apply to the remuneration of women employed in Admiralty establishments, the Admiralty had endeavoured to ensure that generally the level of wages of the women employed in H.M. Dockyards should at least not fall below that which they were "obtaining in the Controlled Establishments" under the Ministry, and that the arrangements that had been adopted provided for the payment of suitable rates of remuneration in any cases in which women might be employed on work formerly carried out by men of a kind requiring such qualifications as to warrant higher rates than those of the general body of women workers.

From the evidence put before us it appeared that while the skilled men's piece rates were paid to women doing work formerly done by skilled men, the Admiralty did not consider the Treasury Agreement required the payment to such women of the same time rates; they based this view in the provision made with regard to piece rates in paragraph 5 (iv) of the agreement which they considered precluded paragraph 5 (v) being intended to deal with the same matter. They had arranged wages so that the women who were employed by the Admiralty before the war should not get less for doing work at which they were skilled than unskilled women coming in to do part of the work that had been done by skilled men.

237. War Office Views.—In the engineering establishments left to the War Office by the transfer of the Ordnance Factories to the Ministry of Munitions, we were informed that the men's piece rates were paid to women doing work formerly done by men. Generally in store establishments which are in the neighbourhood of munition works or dockyards, wages not less favourable than those of the Ministry's Statutory Orders were paid to the women who were mostly sewers, packers and light store labourers. We were told that in other such establishments the rate generally paid in the district was adopted; that in some cases rates have been fixed by arbitrators and that one Department successfully resisted claims for women employed on men's labouring work—handling heavy stores—to be paid men's rates.

238. Opinion of Committee on second Allegation.—We had, however, no evidence that either the War Office or Admiralty in their direct employment did not pay women employed on work previously done by fully-skilled tradesmen the piece rates of the tradesmen whose work they undertook. As regards equal time rates, we have already stated that we do not consider that this was provided for in the Treasury Agreement, and we are, therefore, of opinion that there was no breach of that agreement in not applying to the Admiralty and War Office establishments the clause of Circular L.2. which makes this provision.

239.—III. Failure of Departments to secure Men's War Advances to Women.—The Ministry of Munitions had accepted in Circular L.2. the principle of women being paid the time rates of fully-skilled tradesmen whose work they undertook; as well as that of women on piece-work being paid the same piece-work prices as were customarily paid to men for the job. The other Departments of Government had con-

fined their acceptance to the latter principle, which had, as has been seen, been enunciated by Mr. Lloyd George in the form that "women undertaking the work of men would get the same piece rates as men were receiving before the date of the agreement." It is alleged that the Treasury Agreement, even to the limited extent it has thus been accepted as giving equal pay to men and women, was broken by the withholding from women of the war advances given by the Committee on Production to men subsequently to the 1st April, 1917.

240. Advances to Men.—Up to March, 1917, advances had been determined by negotiation between the parties and by the awards of the Committee on Production, single Arbitrators and Courts of Arbitration. They were in some cases war bonuses and in others additions to the rates. Under an agreement between the Engineering Employers' Federation and the Unions connected with the Engineering and Foundry Trades arrived at in February, 1917, provision was made that apart from advances of wages where the rates were unduly low in any particular district, there should be periodical awards by the Committee on Production to meet abnormal conditions. A 5s. advance as from the 1st day of April resulted from an award under this agreement, dated 1st March, and at the same time it was provided that where the general advances given in any federated district since the beginning of the war amounted to less than 7s. per week on time rates, the men concerned were to receive such further advances as would make their aggregate advance (apart from the advance of 5s.) 7s. a week on time rates. The 5s. advance was to be regarded as a war advance, intended to assist in meeting the increased cost of living, and was to be recognised as due to, and dependent on, the existence of the abnormal conditions prevailing in consequence of the war. In the case of men working on systems of payment by results, payment was to be made at the rate of 5s. per full ordinary week over and above the week's earnings of the men concerned and the amounts were to be taken into account in the calculation for payment of overtime, &c., but were not otherwise to apply to or affect present time rates, premium bonus rates, or piece work prices. Advances of 3s., 5s., and 3s. 6d., to take effect from the first pay days in August, 1917, December, 1917, and August, 1918, were added to the original general advance of 5s. by successive awards of the Committee on Production and were granted under similar conditions and, in addition to those advances aggregating 16s. 6d., grants of 12½ per cent. on the earnings of time-workers and 7½ per cent. on those of piece-workers were sanctioned by the Government in October, 1917 (Order 1061 of 1917), and January, 1918 (Order 1301 of 1917), respectively. The 12½ per cent. was not to alter or become part of time rates.

241. Advances to Women.—At the time of the first general advance to men the Ministry of Munitions added (by Circular L.85) 4s. to the time rates of women on munitions work customarily done by male labour, except to those on skilled men's time rates who received the time rates of skilled tradesmen as then settled. Subsequently the earnings of women whilst employed on munitions work (whether on skilled men's work, other men's work, or work of a class not recognised as men's work) were advanced by 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d., and 5s., the increases to take effect from August 15th, 1917, December 15th, 1917, and September 1st, 1918, under Ministry of Munitions Orders, 781 of 1917, and 31 and 1073 of 1918. Thus, in general advances, between April, 1917, and September, 1918, men had received 23s. 6d. a week plus 12½ per cent. on earnings when working on time-rates, and women 11s. a week.

It is worthy of notice that it was not until 1918 that the Trade Unions representing women began to make formal application for the same rates and advances as were paid to the men. Thus, on the 17th October, 1917, the Standing Joint Committee representing the women in the National Federation of Women Workers, the National Union of General Workers, the National Amalgamated Union of Labour and the Workers' Union, claimed an advance in wages of 10s. per week in the case of women and 5s. per week for girls, with an equivalent increase to piece-workers, on behalf of women and girls engaged in the various munition establishments throughout the country. As at that date the advances awarded to men amounted to 15s. and to women 2s. 6d., the claim did not represent the belief that all women replacing men were entitled under the Treasury Agreement to the same rates and advances. It was not until the 15th March, 1918, that the same Joint Committee claimed that women engaged on men's work whether skilled, semi-skilled or as labourers should receive the same wages and advances as the men. In neither case did the claim include any reference to the Treasury Agreement.

242. Views of Amalgamated Society of Engineers.—

On the 9th October, 1917, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers wrote to the Ministry of Munitions calling attention to the provision of Circular L.2. and Order 49 to the effect that "women employed on the work customarily done by men should in all cases be paid as from the commencement the time rates of the tradesmen whose work they undertake," and complaining that this provision, intended to ensure that there should be no economic advantage to the employer in employing female labour on the work of fully-skilled men, was not being carried out, women not having been paid the recent national advances. It was stated in this letter that the maintenance of a real equality of remuneration was the real point at issue and that this could only be secured by making all advances granted to skilled men apply also to women engaged on the work of skilled men under dilution.

The Law Officers were then requested to advise whether under the above quoted paragraph of the Ministry of Munitions Order, women employed on the work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen were entitled to be paid the advances of 5s., 3s. and 5s., granted by the Awards of the Committee on Production of March 1st, 1917, July 14th, 1917, and November 6th, 1917. The Solicitor-General's reply, dated the 20th November, 1917, was as follows:—"In my opinion the answer to this question is in the negative. The A.S.E. contends, as I understand, that the advance made by the awards are additions to the time rates of the skilled men, and that the advances should therefore be paid to the women as part of their time rates. But this contention appears to me to be quite inconsistent with the terms of the said awards."

This opinion does not really go beyond stating that the advances to the men, not being additions to their time rates, cannot be claimed by the women on the ground that they are entitled to the same time rates as the men. It naturally does not touch the allegation of the A.S.E., repeated before us on behalf of the women concerned, that the intention of the clause originally inserted in Circular L.2. is defeated by an addition to the wages of men which has the same effect—temporarily at any rate—as an increase in their time rate without a similar addition in the wages of the women replacing them. It is also alleged that the greater war advances to men than women destroy the principle laid down in Circular L.2. and the Orders based on it that in systems of payment by results, equal payment shall be made to women as to the men for an equal amount of work done.

243. **Men's and Women's points of view.**—In dealing in this connection with the intention of L.2., and the Orders based on it, there are two points of view to be considered. According to the A.S.E. letter already quoted "the object in view was to secure that there should be no economic advantage to the employer in employing female labour on the work of fully-skilled tradesmen." On this point the Ministry of Munitions stated in evidence to the Committee that there had been no such advantage. The compulsory wage advances have been refunded by the State. The Ministry claimed that the bargain to preserve the skilled man's rate was fully observed, his status was secure, his sphere of work denoted and preserved, and his post-war position was not prejudiced. The A.S.E. in this connection were unable to say that any men who had been available for work had received less wages than he otherwise would have received because of women's labour.

The other point of view, that of the women themselves, which received support before the Committee from men's organisations, was that apart from any question of the preservation of the men's position, the clear intention of L.2. and the Orders based on it was to allow women doing the work of fully-skilled tradesmen to get the same earnings as would have been taken by the men whose work they undertook, and to secure for women employed on systems of payment by results that they should receive the same payment in any week as would have been made to the man who had done the same amount of work. It was claimed that the extent to which payments on these lines had not been made should be estimated and that the resulting amount should be disbursed to the women in the form of unemployment benefit after the war and that some extra generous provision should be made in this direction.

244. **Opinion of Committee on third Allegation.**—We are of opinion that so far as the provisions of L.2. and the Orders based on it were intended to secure the position of men, this intention has not been prejudiced by the Ministry of Munitions, acting on the recommendations of the Special Arbitration Tribunal, not having given to women the same advances as, through the Committee on Production and otherwise, have been granted to men. As regards the interests of the women concerned, in view of the fact that the provisions of L.2. and the Orders based on it deal specifically with time rates and piece work prices, and do not make any reference to cost of living advances, we are unable to say that to carry out these provisions required the payment of the same advances to the women as to the men. In fact, if war advances as an addition to earnings had been current or anticipated at the time L.2. was drafted, we should have said that the wording of this document showed that equality of war advances was not contemplated. It seems to us, however, that had the rise in the cost of living that subsequently took place been foreseen in 1915, it would have been provided for in L.2. Whether this provision would have put women doing certain classes of work or women workers altogether on an equality with men in this matter it is not possible to say. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's letter to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst of the 26th March, 1915, already cited, stated that the words of the Treasury Agreement would guarantee that women undertaking the work of men should get the same piece rates as men were receiving before the date of the Agreement and "that, of course, means that if the women turned out the same quantity of work as men employed on the same job, they will receive exactly the same pay." The latter part of this letter indicated that equality of pay was in the mind of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and this might have been established if a reply had been sent to the second letter of Miss Pankhurst which, with much foresight,

specifically raised the point. Mr. Arthur Henderson, in answer to a question we put to him, has stated that "there can be no doubt at all that all the Trade Unions represented at the Treasury Conference understood the guarantee that earnings would not be adversely affected to include the payment to women replacing men of the same advances as would have been paid to men engaged on the work." While we are doubtful if advances were in the minds of those who took part in the Conference of March, 1915, at the time of that Conference, Mr. Henderson no doubt correctly represents the opinion of the Trade Unions at the time when the question of advances subsequently arose.

We appreciate the difficulties of the Ministry of Munitions in this connection. Under pressure of the possibly not unnatural fears of the skilled men, they were being compelled to give the men's standard rate to women with a small part of a skilled man's training doing a proportion of a skilled man's work. There was no corresponding pressure as regards women on women's work, but the Ministry gave very full effect to Mr. Lloyd George's promise that these women should not be sweated, and they endeavoured to obviate the anomalies which resulted from women doing a particular class of job having a claim to rates in excess of those prescribed for women who were possibly on more arduous or even more skilled work. These were the considerations which led to the Admiralty declining, as already explained, to adopt the provisions of L.2. and to abandon a system of payment in accordance with the value of work for one in accordance with the class of worker that had previously done it. These were the considerations that appear to have led the Ministry of Munitions to adhere to the actual terms of L.2. when not giving a "cost of living" payment at the man's rate to women employed on work previously done by men and at the women's rate to women employed on work not previously so done. They feared to accentuate the chaotic state that had resulted from the pressure referred to above and we are unable to say that those fears were not justified.

On the whole, though there is much to be said for the contention of the Trade Unions, we think, in view of the fact that the difference in advances to men and women did not impair the position of the men, and in consideration of the terms of the Committee on Production's Awards, that this allegation has not been established.

245.—IV. Failure of Departments to secure observance of Treasury Agreement outside Munition Trades.—The Treasury Agreement made the acceptance by the Government of the conditions, set forth in its fifth paragraph as applicable to all contracts for the execution of war munitions and equipment, a condition precedent to the recommendation to each Union to take into favourable consideration such changes in working conditions or trade customs as might be necessary with a view to accelerating the output of war munitions or equipment. In so far as the fifth paragraph guaranteed equal rates to women as to men, this would appear to mean that no Union would recommend dilution to its members except subject to the maintenance of these rates. The Unions, however, evidently did not act as if they considered the granting of men's time rates to women as covered by the fifth paragraph. The Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers accepted at a conference held on October 27th, 1915, the conditions laid down in L.2., which, as we have seen, embodied the principle of equal payment for an equal amount of work done, but not, except in the case of women employed on the work of fully-skilled tradesmen, the time rates of the men whose work they undertook. The National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, who were parties to the Treasury Agreement of March, 1915, signed an agreement with the Federated Association of Boot and

Shoe Manufacturers on June 3rd, 1915, by which females employed on certain operations hitherto ordinarily restricted to male labour were to be paid the same rates of wages as were then paid to males for an equivalent quantity of work. Agreements in terms similar to this have been made by the Gas Workers and General Workers' Union with Tobacco Manufacturers, and that Union has also made agreements with Federations of Dyers by which, in fixing the basis of payment to women taking the place of men either on piece or day-rates, regard shall be had to the quantity of work done as contrasted with that formerly done by adult males. The General Union of Textile Workers, who were also represented at the Conference, were parties to a general agreement, dated February 23rd, 1916, respecting the Woollen and Worsted Industry in Yorkshire, by which women employed to take the place of men were to receive (with one reservation) the same piece rates as men, and if on time rates for day work, the same rate of wages as were then being paid for males for an equivalent quantity of work, and in any event not less than four-fifths of the rate previously paid to the men they replaced. A number of Trade Unions not directly represented at the Conference, but who were engaged on work or articles supplied to the Armies in the Field, such as the National Society of Gold, Silver and Kindred Trades (8/6/16), the Amalgamated Society of Dyers, Bleachers, Finishers and Kindred Trades (7/2/16), the Amalgamated Union of Clothiers' Operatives (11/5/16), the National Amalgamated Society of Male and Female Pottery Workers (29/1/16), the Cutlery Union (1/12/16), &c., have made agreements which make special provision for women's remuneration departing from the principle of equal time rates.

246. Opinion of Committee on fourth Allegation.—The various agreements above referred to contained clauses limiting departure from pre-war practices to the period of the war, and giving priority of re-employment to men who left employment during the war to serve with the colours. Generally, it would seem that the agreements may be taken as giving effect to the Treasury Agreement in the industries concerned in the same way as was done by Circular L.2. and the Orders arising from it in the controlled industries, and that where there has been suspension of Trade Union rules in industries other than those covered by Section 4 and Schedule II of the Munitions of War Act, 1915, it has been under the Agreements referred to or by arrangement between employers and workpeople. We do not consider that these arrangements and Agreements violate any pledge contained in the Treasury Agreement. We have no evidence that outside of them on contracts for the execution of war munitions and equipment women employed on work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen were not paid the time rates of the tradesmen whose work they undertook, or women employed on piece-work were not paid the same piece-work prices as were customarily paid to men for the job.

247.—V. Failure to secure compliance of Controlled Firms with Orders and to issue Orders to Uncontrolled Firms and opinion of Committee on this Allegation.—A further allegation is contained in the statement made to us by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers that under the Government pledges the women and the skilled trades on their behalf were entitled to prompt enforcement without Trade Union demand in each case of the Statutory Orders and the active co-operation of the Ministry in securing this. A witness from the National Amalgamated Union of Labour referred to difficulty in getting the advances to which women were entitled from certain employers. This difficulty was not mentioned by other witnesses, and in answer to questions the Assistant

Controller of the Labour Regulation Department of the Ministry of Munitions, giving evidence on the 1st October, 1918, stated that any danger of women not knowing to what they were entitled under the Orders was diminishing rapidly. The men organised in every shop were taking an increasing interest in the women's position and their rates under the Orders, and the women themselves were getting organised for the purpose of securing these. He added, however, that there must always be danger that groups of women do not know about the Orders, or what they were entitled to secure under them. Everything that was possible with the Ministry's available staff was, however, done to make the women acquainted with these things.

An actual investigation by the Committee into the administration of the Orders all over the country would have been difficult to undertake, and did not appear to us necessary in the absence of wider complaint and of any suggestion that the Ministry failed to take action when non-observance of their Orders was brought to notice. No failure of the Ministry adequately to circulate their Orders was alleged.

It was, however, suggested in the course of our enquiry that there was failure on the part of the Admiralty and War Office to notify to contractors the Government obligations under the Treasury Agreement. We have ascertained in this connection that on the 29th March, 1915, the following letter was issued by the War Office:—

94/Gen. No./34.

" Sir,

I am commanded by the Army Council to send you the enclosed memorandum of proposals relating to the acceleration of output on Government work during the war, drawn up at a conference between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the President of the Board of Trade, and representatives of workmen's organisations.

You will observe that under Clause 5 of the memorandum due notice is to be given wherever practicable to the workmen concerned before any changes are introduced, and it is desirable that full opportunity should be given in each case for adequate consultation, either local or central, between employers and men.

You are requested to sign and return to this Department the enclosed copy of the form of Undertaking.

If you have sub-contracted with any firms for any work for this Department, you are requested to forward a copy of this Circular, and the undertaking for signature to each firm to which, in your judgment, these documents apply. Further copies may be had on application to this Department.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd.) R. W. BRADE."

In April, 1915, the Admiralty sent out the following notice to their Contractors:—

" It is hereby notified that all work performed for the Admiralty during the period of the war, whether under direct contract with the Admiralty or by sub-contractors, is regarded as work within the scope of the arrangements contained in the enclosed memorandum of the 19th March. In view of the national necessity for accelerating the output of work for the Admiralty, the undertaking required by paragraph 5 of the memorandum will be regarded by the Admiralty as accepted by all employers concerned in the case of

contracts and sub-contracts now current, and will be a condition of all future contracts entered into by the Admiralty during the war.

This announcement is made by the Admiralty in full confidence that all employers will be willing in the national interest to conform to this requirement.

(Sgd.) W. GRAHAM GREENE."

We have not been able to ascertain the extent to which these Circulars were issued but it appears that they were not sent at any rate by the War Office to other firms than those concerned with munitions of war in the stricter sense of the term. At the time of the issue it was practically only in the work of such firms that there was admission of semi-skilled or female labour to the work customarily done by men. The responsibilities of the War Office and Admiralty with regard to munitions of war in the stricter sense of the term were passed to the Ministry of Munitions on its formation in June of 1915. It was only at a later stage that, owing to the increasing shortage of male labour, due to recruiting and the increasing Government demands on such trades as textiles and clothing, the question arose of employing women in processes which had been mainly carried out by men and the Agreements to which reference has already been made were entered into between Employers' Federations and Trade Unions, and took the place of the Treasury Agreement in protecting the interests of skilled labour in those trades. No action by Government Supply Departments with regard to these agreements was necessary. In the circumstances set forth we consider that there was no substantial justification for the fifth allegation.

248. Recommendation as to Representation of Women at Industrial Conferences.—In dealing with the first allegation of non-fulfilment of Government pledges we came to the conclusion, based upon a study of the evidence, that the attention of the Conferences which preceded the Treasury Agreement was almost exclusively directed to the position of the men who were to be replaced rather than to that of the men and women who were to replace them. This may have been due to an assumption that these immigrant classes were not in a position to exact terms and conditions of entry to the new spheres of labour. Such an assumption in the case of women could be explained by their previous position in the world of industry as illustrated by the immediate sequel. As Miss Sloan stated in her evidence, women generally were at first glad to accept the 20s. rate without enquiring whether they were replacing skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled men. It would, however, have been much more satisfactory if the interests of women had been directly represented at the Treasury Conference, and if some clear and definite provisions had been made as to the terms upon which they were to enter the men's industries. Among the Trade Unions represented were many that included women in their membership but there were no women representatives, and in the whole course of the discussions no questions were raised from the women's point of view. It was left to the Women's Suffrage Societies subsequently to raise such questions which, had they been threshed out at the time, might have obviated the doubts and unrest that have led to the present enquiry. The altering position of women is, of course, making rarer such omissions. Women were properly represented upon the Wages Sub-Committee of the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee and subsequently constituted a Women's Trade Union Advisory Committee of great value to the Ministry of Munitions. They were represented upon the Committees of the Industrial Conference which recently sat under the Chairmanship of Sir Thomas Munro. But, even now, representation of women at labour conferences involving their

interests is not quite a matter of course and we have therefore thought it necessary to emphasise the unfortunate consequences of the absence of such representatives at the Treasury Conference in March, 1915, and we recommend that whenever industrial questions directly or indirectly affecting the interests of women are discussed under the auspices of a Government Department, that Department should be responsible for seeing that there are women present who can adequately represent these interests.

249. Recommendation as to Fair Wages Clause.—In connection with the fourth allegation dealt with above we have considered the statements of certain witnesses as to the working of the Fair Wages clause in Government contracts, and we are not satisfied that that working in so far as it affects women's wages is satisfactory. We recommend that the department or departments that make contracts on behalf of the Government should place the Ministry of Labour in a position to exercise on their behalf through the Ministry's Local Officers some supervision over the due carrying out of the conditions of the clause, and that the Ministry should undertake this supervision.

250. Recommendations as to Framing and Recording Industrial Agreements.—While we are satisfied that we have in this part of our Report reached the true intent and meaning of the Treasury Agreement we are unable to regard it as a satisfactory document. It is not to be wondered at that it failed to take into account and to provide for the great modification of conditions which arose in the course of a war prolonged beyond the period anticipated by the most far-seeing. But apart from this, the drafting of the document was faulty. Paragraph 4 and the first part of Paragraph 5 which purport to lay down the circumstances in which the conditions set out in the later Paragraph become operative are not clear and the defective wording of Paragraph 5 (v.) has given rise to the allegations which have formed the subject of this part of our report. In the drawing-up of agreements such as the one under discussion in which there is a strong desire on both sides to come together, there is a tendency to avoid entering into subsidiary matters which may or may not subsequently arise. These are apt to be covered up in inexact wording. To make this less likely to happen and to place the interpretation of important industrial agreements, such as the one we have been discussing, as far beyond question as is humanly possible, we consider that the assistance of expert draftsmanship should always be available to those negotiating these agreements.

We think also that it is desirable to make a recommendation on a somewhat analogous but minor matter which did not arise in connection with the Treasury Agreement, but with regard to another agreement entered into between employers and Trade Union representatives under the auspices of a Government Department. It is that in all such cases copies of any shorthand notes that may have been made should be supplied to the parties concerned for record.

J. R. ATKIN, *Chairman.*
 JANET M. CAMPBELL.
 LYNDEN MACASSEY.
 W. W. MACKENZIE.*
 MATTHEW NATHAN.

J. C. STOBART, *Assistant Secretary.*
 April 30th, 1919.

* Signed subject to dissent recorded in note on p. 335.

MEMORANDUM.

BY DR. JANET CAMPBELL.

THE HEALTH OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

The question of the relation of men's and women's wages is dependent in large measure on the relative health and physical capacity; and physical and industrial efficiency are mutually interdependent and indeed inseparable. The medical issues raised by the Inquiry are thus fundamental. Moreover, the effect of industrial employment on the health of the woman worker is by no means one which admits of a short and simple answer, for it is necessary to take a wide and comprehensive view of the problem as a whole. It is proposed in the present Memorandum, therefore, to discuss briefly the inherent physiological differences between the man and the woman which in greater or less degree handicap the woman in competition with the man, and to review the general conditions under which women have been employed before and during the war and the effects which these conditions appear to have exerted on their health and on the function of maternity. In considering maternity, questions inevitably arise as to the personal capacity and inclination for motherhood, the influence of employment, if any, on the birth rate and on infant mortality, and the effect of the married woman's labour on the care of her home and children.

The war has brought many opportunities to women and has focussed public attention on their work in a way that is wholly new. Familiar facts relating to the risks of unsuitable employment to the individual and to the nation have been re-discovered and re-established, new facts have been brought to light, and it may confidently be hoped that the experience thus gained will be utilised to bring about measures of reform long overdue, by means of which the health of the worker may be fully safeguarded and the condition of her labour regulated with equity, foresight and understanding.

II.—PHYSIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

(a) PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT.

In the first place it will be convenient to discuss briefly the physiological differences between the man and the woman. The average woman is smaller than the average man. Her bones are lighter and more slender, and the space for the attachment of muscles is narrower and less well developed. The chest in the woman is relatively shorter and the abdominal cavity correspondingly longer. The shape of the lower ribs and their less rigid attachment serve to accommodate the gravid uterus during pregnancy, but the comparatively long, narrow chest of the man is mechanically stronger and more advantageous. The pelvis in a woman is shallower, wider and less funnel-shaped, so giving greater breadth across the hips.

The *muscular system* comprises about 42 per cent. of the total weight and is the most abundant of the body tissues. In the man the muscles are larger and stronger and the surrounding deposit of fat, which tends in some degree to hinder effective muscular action, is less than in the woman. The woman's abdominal muscles are longer and as a rule

less well developed; they act under greater mechanical disabilities on account of the relatively greater length of the abdominal cavity, the greater area of the abdominal wall and the larger size of the pelvic cavity. This natural weakness is not infrequently accentuated by habits of dress and by lack of proper use and training of the muscles. The effect of pregnancy, especially when repeated, is usually a further weakness and stretching of the abdominal walls which result in a less effective support of the internal organs. The muscular system of the girl and young woman can be greatly developed by suitable nutrition and training, but in this country at any rate the smaller size of the bones, together with the mechanical disadvantages of the general build, and an inherent physiological difference not to be overcome rapidly, if at all, by any method of upbringing, make it unlikely that women can become equal to men in physical strength, and suggest that uncontrolled competition between men and women in matters requiring considerable muscular energy is undesirable. The greater weight of the man is itself an advantage where heavy work is concerned, and the strength of his muscles and joints makes him less liable to instability or accident from sudden or violent jerks or strains.

Dr. Vernon quoted before us an investigation made in 1883 by the Anthropometrical Committee of the British Association which indicated that the muscular strength of women was little more than half that of men. This was confirmed by a comparison of athletic records. The women examined in the first investigation seem to have been mainly shop assistants and pupil teachers. Women accustomed to industrial employment would no doubt show greater physical power. Not much recent investigation has been carried out in this direction, but Professor Frederick Lee told us of experiments which had been undertaken in various munition factories in America, to estimate the muscular strength of men and women. The "spring-balance muscle test" (Lovett and Martin) was used and the average strength in pounds required for a number of engineering operations was established. Unfortunately no direct comparisons were made of the relative physical power of men and women engaged on identical work.

The liability to *rupture* varies with the nature and position of the hernia. Inguinal hernia is far more usual in men, femoral hernia in women, though the latter is a somewhat rare condition compared with inguinal hernia; in young people of both sexes inguinal hernia is the form most often met with. The difference depends mainly on anatomical structure, although as "acquired hernia" is largely due to conditions involving persistent strain or heavy lifting the nature of the man's work renders him more liable to rupture than the woman. Women are perhaps more prone to the less common forms of hernia, such as ventral hernia, mainly on account of a greater weakness of the abdominal and other muscles and a greater tendency to obesity.

The skin of a woman is finer and more delicate, its texture is somewhat different from that of a man, and it contains a greater deposit of adipose tissue; this is perhaps one of the reasons which cause a woman usually to react more quickly than a man to an unsatisfactory atmospheric environment and particularly to ill-ventilation and high temperatures. She loses heat from the surface of the body less rapidly than the man, and therefore feels low temperatures less and high temperatures more.

There seems no evidence to show that there is any fundamental difference between the *circulatory, respiratory or digestive systems*, though, as was pointed out by Dr. Winifred Cullis, little investigation has been

made into possible differences as in most experimental inquiries it has been assumed that the physiology is identical. There seems no reason to believe that the *special senses* of a woman (sight, hearing, touch, taste, smell) cannot be trained as highly as those of a man, though there may be certain differences in the two sexes.* As regards the *central nervous system*, there is probably little difference, except as regards a woman's higher degree of emotional expression. Professor Sherrington stated that, judging by certain simple sensory tests, the young woman's delicacy of sensation is possibly less than the young man's, but the more complex the test the smaller the difference.

(b) MATERNITY.

The function of maternity, even when potential only, necessarily imposes on the woman disabilities from the point of view of physical strength and efficiency. The structure of her body is framed with a view to pregnancy and childbirth and is less well adapted to muscular exertion than that of the man; she is further subject to periodical functional disturbances which tend to render her nervous and muscular energy somewhat unequal and varied. Interruption of employment due to childbearing and lactation is an economic handicap to the married woman; pregnancy places a considerable physiological strain upon the general metabolism which requires adequate physical compensation if the woman is to maintain her health and strength. She is also exposed during this period to various dangers, some of them chiefly physiological in origin, others due to more or less unsatisfactory treatment at the time of her confinement, but the results of which may persist as permanent disabilities and render her less fit for her ordinary occupation and less able to resist subsequent strain or fatigue.

(c) NUTRITION.

One of the primary requirements for healthy physiological development is satisfactory nutrition. It is not proposed to discuss physiological and hygienic requirements in general, or even nutrition in its broader sense; but nutrition in its narrower connotation, namely, dietary, is so germane to the physical efficiency of men and women workers that it is necessary to make some reference to it here. The purpose of taking food is (a) to make good the destruction of tissue, which continues even when the body is at rest, and (b) to provide the additional energy, heat, &c., needed by the body at work. In children and adolescents it is required (c) to provide material for growth. In order to maintain health and vigour the dietary should include a proper quantity and quality of the necessary constituents in suitable proportions and in digestible form; it should vary according to the age and weight of the individual and the amount of work performed.

The relative amount of food required by men and women respectively has been the subject of scientific investigation. An estimate by Sir Henry Thompson suggested that whereas a man on heavy work would require 3,326 calories a day, a woman (assuming she was physically capable of performing the same task) would only require 2,832 calories a day. The Health of Munition Workers Committee caused various inquiries to be made into the dietaries of men and women workers and came to the conclusion that a man engaged in hard physical work, especially in the open air, may consume 4,500 calories with advantage; while for a man in a sedentary occupation working in a warm room as little as 2,200

* "The Mental Traits of Sex," by Helen Bradford Thompson, Ph.D., the University of Chicago Press, 1903.

calories may suffice. The average adult woman requires rather less (about 0·8 or 0·9) than a man. (Final Report, page 53.) Professor Starling stated before us the results of other recent enquiries. He pointed out that the expenditure of energy by a woman at rest amounts to 93 per cent. of the energy expended by a man of similar height and weight. Experiment has demonstrated that assuming 600 calories to be the amount required to make good the energy dissipated by a man and a woman doing the same work, and adding 15 per cent. to each dietary, an average man of 155 lbs. requires 3,244 calories a day, while an average woman of 124 lbs. doing similar work requires 2,379 calories. The more nearly the height and weight of the woman approximate to that of the man, and the more nearly the expenditure of energy required by the nature of her work equals his, the more closely should her diet approach his in quantity, though it will always remain somewhat less. Professor Lusk's calculation, which has been adopted by the Inter-Allied Scientific Commission, is that a working woman's requirements in regard to diet are '83 of the working man's. Thus the average woman, being smaller than the average man, requires a smaller amount of food; if she is employed in a less active way than the man so that the demands upon her reserve energy are not so great as upon his, the relative difference in the necessary quantity of food is increased.

The habit of the woman is to consume less than the man even when ample food is available; this habit is far more marked among working class women and girls, who are frequently not in a position to provide themselves with an adequate diet. The average wages earned by women before the war made it impossible for them to procure good and substantial food; their diet, besides being less in quantity, was less satisfactory in quality than the diet of men in their own position. It is a matter of common knowledge that the mothers of working class families often suffer from an inadequate diet; when the wages are insufficient the needs of the father as bread-winner almost necessarily come first, those of the children next, the mother's last. Thus we have a large population of under-nourished girls and women. The first result of this has been that many girls and women have failed to reach their full physical development, strength and capacity; they have remained stunted, thin, physically weak and lacking in mental and bodily energy. A second result has been a marked liability, particularly among younger women, to various forms of illness, such as anæmia, which are associated with malnutrition; and a third, that many mothers are not only unable to obtain the food necessary to maintain their ordinary health, but are still less able to provide adequately for themselves during and after pregnancy. It cannot be doubted that such malnutrition among women also bears a direct relation to diminished fertility and consequently to a lowered birth rate.

(d) FATIGUE.

Lastly, it will also be useful to consider briefly the significance of fatigue and the effect upon health of certain conditions of industrial employment, such as prolonged standing.

The question of *industrial fatigue* has recently been investigated in considerable detail by the Health of Munition Workers Committee.* From these inquiries it appears that the problems of industrial fatigue are

* "Industrial Fatigue and its Causes." Memorandum No. 7 issued by the Health of Munition Workers Committee. Also, Relation of Ill-health and Fatigue to Industrial Efficiency. Final Report of the Committee, Section III.

almost wholly problems of fatigue of the nervous system and of its direct and indirect effects. Fatigue following muscular employment is primarily nervous fatigue and depends upon the physical condition of the worker as well as upon the nature of the work, including its arduous or heavy character, the necessity of continued use of intelligence and observation, the absence of a suitable rhythm, and the monotony or interest of the work. The true sign of fatigue is diminished capacity, which is present in fact and is manifested objectively by reduced output before it is observed subjectively by the worker. The results of persistent fatigue are shown in reduced physical capacity and the loss of resistance to disease or an unsatisfactory environment, which are further reflected in returns of sickness, of broken time and of the number of accidents recorded.

The amount of sickness among employed women is discussed in a later section of this Memorandum. Fatigue naturally occurs earlier in underpaid, under-fed persons; and the secondary results of overstrain, including sickness, are most common and excessive among this class of worker, which is mainly comprised of women and girls. It is a frequent cause of complaint that women workers are worse time-keepers than men; omitting such reasons as domestic duties and temporary physiological incapacity, fatigue, whether giving rise to actual sickness or not, will inevitably tend to increase absence and unpunctuality. Accidents have been shown to be most common during the period of the day when fatigue is most pronounced and to be due in some degree at any rate to diminished capacity leading to inattention and carelessness.

It is not altogether clear whether a woman in a good state of health engaged in work suited to her strength becomes fatigued sooner than a man similarly occupied, but in practice women appear to be more easily fatigued than men and less able to stand the strain of long hours of work.

Prolonged standing is a not uncommon cause of excessive fatigue in women. Apart from the general fatigue involved, however, there appear to be few, if any, ill-effects from standing when ordinarily healthy young women are concerned if the hours are not too long, the general conditions good, the floor surface suitable and a reasonable amount of movement allowed. Inquiries among munition workers showed that they rapidly became accustomed to standing and that there was little evidence of resulting flat foot, varicose veins, &c.* Even healthy women, however, from time to time find prolonged standing particularly tiring, especially when the work entails remaining in one place, and the ill-effects are increased by such forms of physical disability as malnutrition, anæmia, or any local internal inflammation. Women who have borne children are likely to suffer more from continual standing than unmarried girls and are more apt to develop varicose veins, internal displacements or other disabling conditions in consequence. In order to avoid unnecessary fatigue and conserve physical energy, it is important that suitable seats should be provided for women engaged in occupations involving constant standing, even if occasional advantage only can be taken of them.†

Lifting *heavy weights* is another source of overstrain and possible injury. Women are less able to lift weights than men, partly on account

* Inquiry into the Health of Women Munition Workers, Interim Report of the Health of Munition Workers Committee, and Appendix B of Final Report.

† Dr. Rosalie Morton in a paper on the "Effects of Industrial Strain on the Working Woman" calls attention to the general and particular physical evils which may follow prolonged standing, handling heavy weights or constant sitting where women are concerned. She describes in some detail the possible result upon digestion, the pelvic organs and maternity. (Transactions of the Fifteenth Industrial Congress on Hygiene and Demography, 1912, Vol. III., part 2.)

of possessing less muscular strength, partly because they are anatomically less suited to this work. They are usually better able to deal with small compact objects than with bulky articles of the same weight. Part of their natural disability can be overcome with training, and in certain factories selected women have shown themselves surprisingly competent in the handling of heavy weights. The practice requires careful watching, however, if the risk of accident or internal displacement is to be avoided, and the raising of weights up to or above the head is particularly liable to lead to strain. It is obviously difficult to make definite suggestions in regard to the weights which can safely be handled by women, but given reasonable conditions and good physique, women and girls over 18 years of age have been found able to handle weights up to 50 lbs. in the ordinary course of their work without difficulty. Such a weight would, of course, be too great for women of less than normal strength or if the weight is of awkward bulk or has to be raised to a special height.* In certain cases women have, during the war, successfully handled heavier weights than this.

III.—GENERAL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH WOMEN WERE EMPLOYED PRIOR TO THE WAR.

Women have been occupied in industrial employment to an ever increasing extent since the Industrial Revolution at the beginning of the last century. They have always taken a large share in the textile trades and other trades which offered special opportunities for "women's work." As machinery has gradually replaced manual labour new ways have opened for the employment of women. Before the war, however, women were occupied largely in sedentary work, their tolerance of monotony made them particularly useful in many varieties of simple repetition work and their manual dexterity fitted them to undertake numerous light tasks requiring deftness and speed. The temporary character of women's labour restricted them mainly to work requiring a short training and prevented them engaging in most occupations calling for apprenticeship or a high degree of skill; thus they were excluded from much well-paid work. It had the further disadvantage of inducing women to accept unsatisfactory conditions in view of their probable lack of permanence and of discouraging healthy ambition and a desire to excel. In many of the better type of factories which utilised women's labour unmarried girls only were engaged. Except in such trades as the textiles and pottery industries, laundrywork, &c., married women seeking employment were often obliged to content themselves with the rougher kinds of factory work, charring or relatively heavy unskilled work, or worse still, some form of ill-paid home work. Wages were universally low, the average weekly wage being about 10s. to 12s. Except in the textile trades, women were as a rule unorganised. This fact, in addition to a plentiful supply of women's labour, a relatively servile position and lack of status made it difficult for women to protect themselves from unsuitable conditions and inadequate wages.

Factory hygiene has steadily progressed since the days of the first Factory Act in 1802. The scope of factory legislation has been widened to include not only the control of hours of work but the maintenance of cleanliness and sanitation in general, the prevention of accidents and the ill-effects to health arising from certain operations, processes and dan-

* Health of Munition Workers Committee, Final Report, page 97.

gerous trades. It has been extended to cover all trades carried on in factories and workshops, though certain forms of industrial employment (*e.g.*, in shops) are still outside its control. The condition of the factory has indeed improved more rapidly than housing or domestic hygiene. Women were first mentioned in the Factory Act of 1844, when their hours of employment were limited to those permitted for young persons. In accordance with the Act of 1901 the weekly hours of employment for protected persons (that is women and young persons) may not exceed 60 and must conform to certain regulated periods. Such persons may not be employed continuously for more than 5 hours in ordinary trades and 4½ hours in the textile trades, without an interval of at least half-an-hour for a meal. Sunday labour is forbidden, overtime is limited and night work prohibited to women and girls. Besides restriction of hours women are not allowed to work underground in mines and in certain processes connected with lead and other poisonous materials, which are regarded as specially injurious to women. The Act also forbids the employment of a woman within four weeks after giving birth to a child.

The Factory Act of 1833 provided for the appointment of a staff of men factory inspectors. Women factory inspectors were first appointed in 1893. The number of women inspectors has hitherto been far too small to cope adequately with the immense amount of work for which they were responsible. In spite of this, they have been instrumental in securing a great improvement in factory conditions generally and have gained the whole-hearted confidence of the women workers.

IV.—SOME RESULTS OF SUCH EMPLOYMENT UPON HEALTH.

(i) EFFECTS OF EMPLOYMENT ON THE GENERAL HEALTH.

It is difficult to differentiate the effect of employment upon the health of the woman worker from the effect of social conditions in general. On the whole, industry has certainly been less injurious to the woman than to the man, but whereas the man is normally employed during practically the whole of his adult life, for most women the period of industrial employment is relatively short, their work is more restricted and protected, and many women are never employed away from their own homes. The common occurrence of occupational diseases among men and the fact that the death rate of men is relatively higher than that of women in industrial classes, may be attributed principally to the heavier character of their occupations and the resulting stress, to their much more frequent exposure to definite risk of injury, and to some extent perhaps to their greater liability to alcoholism. On the other hand, although women have been engaged mainly in light work, sedentary occupations are not synonymous with healthy occupations, and low wages with consequent faulty nutrition and lack of personal comfort have furnished predisposing causes of ill-health not so frequently present among men.

It is unfortunately impossible to obtain particulars of the occupational death rates of women,* nor is it easy to state definitely those ailments which arise directly from employment. Most employed women are

* In discussing the mortality of workers engaged in different occupations, Dr. William Ogle in 1885 explained that his investigations into this subject were limited, as on previous occasions, to males for the same reason, namely, that the uncertainty attaching to the statement both of occupation and of age, is very much greater in the case of women than of men. (Supplement to the 45th Report of the Registrar-General, page xxi.) The same difficulty holds good to day and it is impossible to obtain particulars of the occupational mortality of women which would not be misleading.

young; the conditions of their work have not been such as to cause actual disabling disease but rather to favour general constitutional ill-health and a lowered power of resistance, the ultimate effects of which may reveal themselves remotely and not immediately. The ailment which at once suggests itself in this connection is anæmia.

(a) *Anæmia.*

This is essentially an ailment of girls and young women. It is possible that it is due in part to a slightly different composition of the blood in the woman, but the main causes are malnutrition, an indoor life (especially under faulty conditions of hygiene), lack of exercise, fresh air and sunshine. Common signs are pallor, headache, digestive disturbances, and general flabbiness and incapacity for exertion. The cure consists less in medicine than in a removal of the exciting causes. It is present in greater or less degree in a very large number of working girls. It certainly reduces their efficiency, sometimes to a considerable extent, hinders their full physiological development and may predispose to more serious diseases.

(b) *Overstrain.*

Another somewhat indefinite condition is overstrain from fatigue. This again results in greatly reduced industrial efficiency. The over-tired woman performs her task at an excessive expenditure of nervous energy. If long continued this results in a serious lowering of vitality and the power to resist disease (for example, tuberculosis, infectious diseases), it renders her less capable of performing maternal functions such as nursing her baby, and it prematurely wears her out and makes her an old woman long before her time. Overstrain may result from the nature of the work alone, but is far more likely to be associated with undue speeding up or competition with physically stronger workers of either sex. The objection to piecework for women expressed by some Trade Union representatives is no doubt partly based on the evil effect on the health of the strain involved in working for low piece work prices with no guaranteed time-rate and no certainty as to the weekly minimum wage. Competition with men on similar work for similar rates of pay has definite dangers for women, especially in borderline occupations between "men's work" and "women's work," where the physical strength of women is not much below that exerted by the men, and where temptation to show that a woman can do as much or more than a man may prove disastrous in the long run, even to young and strong women, by heavily overtaxing their nervous and muscular energy. If women are able to compete for a time more or less equally with men on certain jobs involving considerable physical strain, employers may be willing to engage them at relatively high rates of pay. Women may be attracted by the conditions of the work and its immediate advantages, neither they nor the employers appreciating the serious damage to health which may possibly result from such employment.

(c) *Incidence of Sickness.*

The operation of the National Health Insurance Act revealed for the first time the remarkable incidence of minor and major sickness among girls and young women, an incidence which compared most unfavourably with the sickness rates for men. The Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the alleged excessive claims in respect of sickness benefit*

* Report of the Departmental Committee on Sickness Benefit Claims under the National Insurance Act, 1914.

contains important evidence in this connection, some of which may be quoted here.

"Secretaries of Societies have expressed themselves astounded by their realisation for the first time, on the coming into operation of the Act, of the kind of work done by women in certain occupations, and of the amount of sickness entailed by the conditions under which they live. . . . The evidence of medical practitioners is overwhelmingly in support of the view that the effect of the Act has been to disclose, especially among industrial women, an enormous amount of unsuspected sickness and disease, and to afford treatment to many who have hitherto been without medical attendance during sickness." (Para. 59.)

"The higher rate of claims among women is also largely attributed to the fact that the total number of insured women includes a very large proportion of ill-paid and ill-fed persons, who have had little education in the care of their health, and who, in most cases, have no one to prepare the meal which should be ready for them on their return from work, and therefore live on unsuitable food." (Para. 157.)

"We had not realised that it [sickness] would be so much. We thought that young women would be more healthy. We have found a great deal of anæmia and debility which we attribute to conditions of employment." (Para. 163.)

A medical witness stated:—"I think the legitimate impression among medical men is that sickness incidence . . . is greater among women than among men." Another states:—"There is not the slightest doubt that women, for some reason or other, are ill oftener than men; they suffer from more complaints than men." Another doctor with reference to the amount of real illness with which he has been brought into contact under the Act "associates this more with women and girls, and means, not women's diseases, but general ill-health . . . all sorts of illness and disease." (Paras. 164 and 165.)

In a Memorandum to the Report, Miss Mary Macarthur states:—"The Committee has recorded its conviction that women are more liable to incapacity by sickness than men, and it is my contention that (apart from normal physical reasons) this extra sickness of women is due to their greater poverty and to the character of their employment. Long hours, long standing, lack of fresh air, long intervals without food, are undeniably, especially in the case of young anæmic girls, detrimental to health, and the low wages which attach to most women's employment involve insufficient and often improper food." (Memorandum A., para. 11.)

The evidence which has been received by the Committee supports and emphasises the above findings and suggests that improvements in the conditions of employment could not fail to secure better health among women workers and therefore greater efficiency.

(d) *Tuberculosis.*

Some further indication of the injury to health which may follow increased industrialism among women is suggested by the rise in the tuberculosis death rate during the war. Dr. Benjamin Moore has recently discussed the high incidence of phthisis in the urban male population.*

* Factory and Workshop conditions and the prevalence of Pulmonary Phthisis *Lancet*, November 9th, 1918.

He points out that until the 20th year is reached the mortality in both sexes is considerably greater in rural than in urban districts. Between the 20th and the 30th years the condition becomes reversed, and after the 30th year there is found a great preponderance of the disease among urban males which is not shared by urban females, while no such disparity is observable between rural males and rural females. Indeed the death rate of urban males between 25 and 65 years of age is at least double that of the remainder of the population. The difference is not due to housing conditions (in that case urban females ought to be equally affected), but must be connected with the daily occupation. The two main factors appear to be, first long continued strain of work under unhealthy conditions, and secondly the infection of men (thus reduced in resisting power) by fellow workers actually at work alongside them while suffering from open phthisis. The heaviest incidence of the disease is found in those occupations in which the demand for muscular exercise is so slight that a consumptive worker can still continue in employment intermittently until he is in the last stages of the disease, and therefore in a highly infective condition.

Since 1914 the mortality rate among urban women has shown a substantial increase. Dr. Stevenson in his review of the vital statistics for the year 1916 discusses the increased mortality from tuberculosis among the civilian population and writes as follows:—

“It is advisable therefore to restrict our comparison for 1916 to the female sex, knowing as we do that the curves of mortality for the two sexes normally run so nearly parallel in their yearly fluctuations that the recorded history of female mortality forms the best guide by which to estimate under the present abnormal circumstances, the extent of the tendency to death from this cause amongst males. The mortality after a fairly steady decline (which had continued for many years) reached its lowest level during the three years 1911-14. From the lowest level touched in these years, 1,154 per million females living in 1913, there has been a rise of 7 per cent to 1,235 in 1915 and 1,234 in 1916.

“Of course the circumstances of the female population have been profoundly changed by the war, and it is possible that with peace the improvement of former years would have been maintained. Apart from fluctuations in the small number of deaths at ages over 75, the increase in the mortality of females does not extend to ages over 45, and in 1916 it particularly affects the most active working period of life, 15-45. Many thousands of women are now for the first time subjected to the workshop conditions which have probably tended so much to maintain the mortality of males at working ages in recent years. Young women of the most susceptible age have thus been subjected to risks of infection as well as of pulmonary disease predisposing to tubercle which they would have escaped in following their normal occupations; and both from this cause and from the effect of workshop conditions on women already infected a number of women have probably died who would have survived under peace conditions. It is quite possible, therefore, that with the return to these conditions the fall in tuberculosis mortality may be resumed, though whether this will be so must largely depend upon the nature of the peace conditions to be established.”*

Dr. Greenwood has also described an investigation which supports Dr. Stevenson's hypothesis that the increase of tuberculosis among

* Report of Registrar-General for 1916, page liv.

women may well be due to the introduction of many thousands of women into industrial life.* It is without doubt a matter which requires careful watching if women are to remain in industry in largely increased numbers and for a long period of years. In the past the conditions of women's employment, low pay, malnutrition, long hours, sedentary occupations and lack of fresh air and exercise, have been such as to favour tubercular infection. That employed women have escaped as lightly as they have is doubtless due to the fact that most women have been young and under the age of 25-30 when the increased mortality among urban men begins to be observed. During the war, women of all ages and in varying degrees of health have been encouraged to take up factory life. The improved conditions and amenities (reasonable wages, welfare, hygiene, &c.) have not been sufficient to prevent women acquiring and developing the disease, and indeed have possibly assisted physically unfit women to continue to work longer than was desirable having regard to their own health and general safety of the workers, and the increase in the death rate from tuberculosis has probably been one result of this. If the death rate is further increased, or even maintained at its present level, it cannot fail gravely to affect the national health.

(ii) THE EFFECTS OF EMPLOYMENT ON MATERNITY.

It is clear that the conditions under which women were employed before the war were not likely to secure a maximum of health and industrial efficiency, and often directly resulted in impaired physical capacity and so in economic loss to the State. In addition to results on the general health of women and girls it is desirable to consider the effect of industrial life on maternity, and in particular its relation to the birth rate and infant mortality. The precise effect of employment on motherhood is not easy to estimate. It may be personal and physiological, but it is difficult to separate this from social and national welfare.

(a) *Personal Capacity for Maternity.*

Physiological injury or impairment of function may result from unsuitable employment of the young unmarried girl or married woman. Direct injury to the growing girl is almost certainly uncommon. Any occupation which tends in the adolescent to cause spinal curvature with tilting and possible deformity of the pelvis may lead to difficulty at the time of confinement. Internal displacement may arise from work involving sudden or violent strain or from heavy lifting, but is probably rare in youth. Prolonged standing may cause local congestion of pathological degree or internal displacement. Indirect injury due to conditions of work which result in an anæmic, stunted, underfed girl, would seem to be far more important. Such a girl is clearly less likely to bear and rear healthy children than a robust well-developed woman. The married woman who has had children is more subject than the girl to local injury arising from standing, heavy work, &c. Slight injuries resulting from child-bearing are likely to be accentuated and there is often an added liability to internal displacement and other forms of physical disability, which may not be dangerous to life but which increase the burden of fatigue and minor suffering which most working women have to bear.

The social effect of employment can perhaps be estimated most satisfactorily by reference to the birth rate and the infant mortality rate.

* Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine. June, 1918. Vol. XI., No. 8., p. 142.

It is clearly impossible in the present report to deal adequately with either of these subjects, but brief reference may be made to them.

(b) *Birth Rate.*

The birth rate in England and Wales averaged 35·4 in 1871-80 and reached its maximum of 36·3 in 1876. Since that year it has been steadily declining, and in 1914 was 23·8 per 1,000 living, a diminution of approximately 33 per cent. The birth rate is highest in Wales and in the northern counties (due largely to the fertility of wives of miners) and lowest in the south. One of the causes of the diminishing birth rate seems to be postponement of marriage by women, and the following Table from the Registrar-General's Report for 1912 shows the fall in the proportion of marriages of marriageable persons and also the later age of marriage among women.*

Census Years.	Proportion per cent. of Women aged 15-45 years in the Total Population of both sexes and all ages.	Proportion per cent. of married women in the Female Population aged 15-45 years.	Of the Married Women aged 15-45 years the proportion per cent. at four groups of ages.				Persons Married to 1,000 Marriageable Persons in the Population.
			15-20.	20-25.	25-35.	35-45.	
1871	23·1	49·6	1·3	13·9	45·5	39·3	56·9
1881	23·1	49·1	1·1	13·7	45·6	39·6	51·1
1891	23·8	47·1	0·9	12·8	46·0	40·3	49·8
1901	25·0	46·8	0·7	11·8	46·8	40·7	48·6
1911	24·9	47·7	0·5	9·4	46·0	44·1	46·2

Other causes of decline are diminished fertility among women and a deliberate restriction of child-bearing. The following Table, taken from the same Report, shows the legitimate birth-rates in social classes in terms of the numbers of possible fathers.†

Social Class.	Per 1,000 Males aged 10 years and over (including Retired).	Per 1,000 Married Males aged under 55 years (including Retired).
I. Upper and Middle Class	47	119
II. Intermediate Class (excluding scholars)	46	132
III. Skilled Workmen	73	153
IV. Intermediate Class	70	158
V. Unskilled Workmen... ..	90	213
VI. Textile Workers	50	125
VII. Miners	107	230
VIII. Agricultural Labourers	49	161
III-VIII. Working Class	76	175
All Classes	62	162

* Report of Registrar-General for 1912. Table XI., p. xvii.

† Report of Registrar-General for 1912. Table XV., p. xxiii.

Groups I.-V. are arranged in descending order of the social scale, and it will be noticed that fertility increases progressively from the first to the fifth group. It is interesting to compare the fertility of the textile workers with that in the mining industry. The birth-rate of textile operatives is little above that of the middle class, and as the infant mortality is high the effective fertility of textile workers is really the lowest of the eight groups compared. In this relation, Dr. Stevenson remarks:—"If it may be assumed that the custom of married female labour in the mills provides special economic inducements to this class to restrict its birth-rate, the fact that this is so low in comparison with other workers of similar standing is strongly suggestive of purposeful avoidance of fertility as the cause of the difference. Indeed, it seems difficult to account otherwise for the contrast between miners and mill-hands, two classes very similarly situated in most respects other than the employment of their women-folk."

Another point of importance is the incidence of illegitimacy among occupied women. The following figures are taken from Table XVIII.* of the same Report:—

Occupational Group.	Number of Unmarried and Widowed Females, aged 15-45 years, enumerated at Census 1911.	Illegitimate Births, 1911.	Birth-Rate per 1,000.
All Unmarried and Widowed Females, aged 15-45 years	4,701,324	37,633	8.0
Occupied	3,403,299	30,260	8.9
Unoccupied or Occupation not stated	1,298,025	7,373	5.7
Hawkers	4,076	271	66.5
Charwomen	34,279	1,494	43.6
Brick, Plain Tile, Terra-Cotta Makers	1,954	70	35.8
Agricultural Labourers	8,131	290	35.7
Coal Miners—Workers above ground	2,343	70	29.9
Rag Gatherers—Dealers	2,724	80	29.4
Mineral Water Manufacture	1,956	42	21.5
Laundry Workers	83,413	1,318	15.2
Workers in Hemp, Jute and other Fibrous Materials	11,382	174	15.3
Domestic Servants	1,147,241	17,132	14.9
Milliners	57,356	127	2.2
Sick Nurses	49,385	106	2.1
Commercial Clerks	111,087	236	2.1
Farmers' Daughters	52,739	76	1.4
Civil Service Clerks	22,949	21	0.9
School Teachers	152,838	105	0.7

The association of illegitimacy with low social status, casual, rough, unskilled and ill-paid labour is very marked. It is true that 46 per cent. of illegitimate infants born during 1911 were the children of domestic servants; but while the rate for this, numerically the most important occupation, is high, it is greatly exceeded by others quoted.

On the whole it seems probable that the increasing employment of women tends to accelerate the fall in the birth-rate, especially when a

* Report of Registrar-General for 1912. Table XVIII., p. xxx.

high proportion of married women is employed. A woman in a suitable and reasonably well-paid occupation has less inducement to marry early than an unoccupied woman; if she is already married each child adds to her domestic responsibilities and makes it more difficult for her to continue her work. It is not surprising, especially in cases where the man's wages are not high and the woman's earnings a substantial part of the family income, that the mother should view the prospect of the birth of additional children with anxiety and sometimes dismay, and should endeavour in consequence to restrict the number of her babies. The practice of taking abortifacients and the use of other means of preventing pregnancy are becoming more familiar to working women.* The subject is difficult to investigate, but to quote the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, "there is reason to think that on a somewhat considerable scale attempts have been made in some of the textile towns to produce abortion, and it is clear that on a large scale anti-conceptive devices are employed."†

(c) *Infant Mortality Rate.*

The infant mortality rate represents the number of deaths of infants under one year of age per thousand births. Of recent years the highest recorded rate for England and Wales was 163 in 1899. Since then there has been an almost uniformly progressive improvement. In 1902 the rate was 133; in 1908, 120; in 1911, a year of heat and drought, it was 130, but the following year dropped to 95. In 1915 it rose to 110, but in 1916 it was 91, the lowest recorded rate. In 1917 it again rose slightly to 97, but there has been no substantial interruption of the steady downward tendency.

Infantile deaths are not distributed evenly throughout the country. Speaking generally, they are highest in the North of England, especially in the large towns, and in Wales, and lowest in the rural districts of the South. In 1912, for example, the infant mortality rate for rural districts was exceeded by 14 per cent. in the case of the smaller towns, and by 33 per cent. in that of the county boroughs, though only by 12 per cent. in London. "The chances of survival seem to differ but little at birth in town and in the country, but the noxious influences of the former soon come into play and make themselves felt to an increasing extent as the first year of life progresses, and to a still greater extent in the second and third years, when the urban excess generally approaches 100 per cent., thereafter gradually declining."‡

* A common method of endeavouring to prevent pregnancy is the use of diachylon. Its use for this purpose was first observed at Leicester and was described by Dr. Pope in July, 1893, in the "British Medical Journal." The practice appears to have spread gradually through industrial districts. In 1900 Dr. Ransom described a number of cases of diachylon poisoning which occurred in the Nottingham district and pointed out the danger to health of this easily obtainable drug ("Lead encephalopathy and the use of diachylon as an abortifacient," Dr. W. B. Ransom, "British Medical Journal," 30th June, 1900). In 1906 Dr. Hall and Dr. Ransom called attention to the increasing use of diachylon as an abortifacient, and stated that it was familiar to workers living in an area bounded on the north by the upper part of North Yorkshire, on the south by Bedfordshire, and on each side by the counties of Leicester, Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire and East Derbyshire. It was not known in the north or south of this district. ("Plumbism from the ingestion of diachylon as an abortifacient," by Dr. Arthur Hall and Dr. W. B. Ransom, "British Medical Journal," February 24th, 1906).

† In giving evidence before the Commission of Inquiry into the decline of the birth-rate, in 1916, Sir Thomas Oliver referred to the extensive use of diachylon in the Newcastle district, thus showing that a knowledge of its effects has spread considerably since 1906.

‡ Third Report on Infant and Child Mortality by the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, 1913-14, p. 22.

§ Report of Registrar-General for 1916, p. xxvii.

The geographical counties having the highest infant mortality rates are:—

Lancashire.
Durham.
Glamorganshire.
Nottingham.
West Riding of Yorkshire.
Northumberland.

The towns having the highest rates of infant mortality in 1907-10 were—Stalybridge, Ince-in-Makerfield, Burnley, Farnworth, Ashton-under-Lyne, Stoke-on-Trent, Chesterfield, Hyde, Aberdare, Ilkeston, Wigan, Middlesbrough, Dewsbury, Merthyr Tydfil, Rhondda, Hindley, Bilston, Preston, Barnsley, Stockport, Leigh, Nottingham, Chorley, Shoreditch, Batley.

A point of considerable practical importance is the exact age *period when infant mortality is highest*. Sir George Newman called attention to this matter in 1906, and pointed out that about 45 per cent. of all infant deaths occur in the first trimester.* His observations still hold good. About one-third of the total deaths in the first year occur during the first month, and by far the greatest proportion of these take place during the first two weeks. About half the total deaths occur during the first three months, so that the first few weeks of life are much the most perilous to the infant.

The chief direct causes of death are as follows:—

- (1) Premature birth, atrophy, marasmus and congenital defect.
- (2) Diarrhoea and enteritis.
- (3) Bronchitis and pneumonia.

The conditions included in the first group account for the largest number of deaths, and most of the deaths in the first weeks of life are due to one of these causes. They are most frequent in the county boroughs and urban districts. Some are due to pre-natal circumstances, others to lack of care during and after birth. Diarrhoea and enteritis are most prevalent in dry, hot summer weather and are associated with an insanitary environment. They are most fatal to bottle-fed infants. Bronchitis and pneumonia are due in the main to exposure and want of care, the ill effects of which may be aggravated by unfavourable climatic conditions and unhygienic surroundings and unsatisfactory domestic habits of life.

There are also various general influences which affect infant mortality, and among these the most important would seem to be poverty, bad housing and insanitation, the lack of education of the mother and the occupation of the parents. It is impossible to disentangle these conditions from one another or to estimate the precise effect exercised by each; they frequently occur together in the same district and in the same family. Poverty and bad housing, for instance, are often inseparable; ill-paid work and a low standard of domestic hygiene are usually, though not always, associated.

Poverty affects the health of the mother by depriving her of the necessary nutrition during and after pregnancy and of adequate care and comfort at the time of her confinement. The ill-nourished mother is not able to nurse her infant, or only does so at too great a cost to herself; often she has not the strength to give the particular attention needful to the successful nurture of the child, even if she has the knowledge required to make the best of her unsatisfactory surroundings. A

* Infant Mortality, p. 57.

hand-fed baby is much less likely to thrive in such circumstances than in a well-to-do household.

Defective housing and sanitation, whether associated with poverty or not, undoubtedly exercise a harmful effect on infant life. The necessary scrupulous cleanliness cannot be maintained; dirt brings disease with it, and infants and little children are particularly susceptible to such disease. The failure to remove house refuse and a defective drainage system involve similar dangers. Overcrowding accentuates the other evils of bad housing.

The lack of education of the mother is of the highest importance. A knowledge of the simple laws of health, which must be followed in order to rear her children satisfactorily, is essential to her. A sensible and well-informed mother may triumph over innumerable domestic difficulties which would prove disastrous to the ignorant, careless woman, while good surroundings may be largely inoperative if the mother has no understanding of how to take advantage of them. The capacity of the mother depends partly on the extent to which her general intelligence has been developed through ordinary education, partly on the traditions and customs of her own home, and partly on the facilities she has had for special education in connection with a day or evening school, infant welfare centre, &c. The girl who enters a factory when she leaves school, and even remains there after she marries, is not likely to have time or opportunity for learning proper methods of infant care and management.

The occupation of the parents is an important factor in infant mortality. The report of the Registrar-General for 1911 sets out the infant mortality rates for different occupations of *men* and divides the community into the eight classes already referred to in connection with the birth rate. The following figures are quoted from this report:—*

Legitimate Infantile Mortality, by Age, of Various Social Classes, as Indicated by Occupation.

Social Class.	Under 1 Month.	1-3 Months.	3-6 Months.	6-9 Months.	9-12 Months.	Total under 1 Year.
1. Upper and Middle Class ...	30·2	14·9	13·0	9·9	8·4	76·4
2. Intermediate Class (excluding scholars).	36·5	20·6	20·3	16·3	12·7	106·4
3. Skilled Workers ...	36·8	21·2	22·1	17·8	14·8	112·7
4. Semi-skilled Workers ...	38·6	22·7	23·6	19·7	16·7	121·5
5. Unskilled Workers ...	42·5	28·6	31·4	26·2	23·8	152·5
6. Textile Workers ...	44·4	27·9	32·3	23·6	19·9	148·1
7. Miners ...	46·5	28·3	33·7	27·5	24·1	160·1
8. Agricultural Labourers ...	36·8	17·9	18·2	13·0	11·0	96·9
All Classes ...	40·4	24·6	26·8	21·8	18·9	132·5

If the total infant mortality rate be 100, the mortality in the middle classes is here shown to be only 61 per cent. of the total infant mortality of the country, which suggests that 40 per cent. of the present infant mortality could be avoided if the health conditions of infant life in general could be approximated to those in the middle class. Dr. Stevenson has called special attention to textile workers and miners. "The mortality of miners' infants is disproportionately high, especially in view of the fairly high wages earned by these men. They are certainly much better paid, and consequently in a better position to provide for

* Report of Registrar General for 1911. Table xxviii b., p. xli.

the welfare of their infants, than the unskilled and casual labourers of the towns who form the bulk of Class 5, while their wives are, as a rule, not compelled to assist in earning the family living, yet at each of the five age periods the mortality of their infants is higher than that of Class 5, with the single exception of the second, 1-3 months, where it is only a trifle lower. . . . The mortality of textile workers' infants is particularly high from diarrhoea, possibly owing to artificial feeding of children whose mothers are at work in the mills, from meningitis, both simple and tuberculous, and, as already noted, from congenital malformations. The loss of life from premature birth is also high, though not quite so high as in the mining class, where the mothers less frequently engage in work outside their homes."* Other occupations associated with an exceptionally high mortality rate are those of labourers, ironworkers, brassworkers, flax and hemp workers, tin miners, salt makers, scavengers and hawkers.

The exact effect on infant mortality of the industrial employment of *women* is not easy to estimate. In discussing the influence of the occupation of women upon infant mortality, Sir George Newman reviews the classic investigations carried out by Sir John Simon and Dr. Greenwood, of the Local Government Board, in the middle of the last century, into the Sanitary State of the People of England. As a result of their inquiry they noted that one of the causes of the high rate of infant mortality then existing was the occupational differences among the inhabitants in certain large towns where women were greatly engaged in branches of industry away from home. In such circumstances houses were usually ill-kept and infants who should have been at the breast were improperly fed, starved, or quietened with opiates. Sir George Newman then considers subsequent investigations in England and Scotland by other authorities, including the Home Office inspectors,† and concludes that in towns where women are largely employed in factories the disadvantages to the health and life of their infants are enormously increased for the following reasons:—"First, there are the ordinary injuries and diseases to which women and girls in factories are liable; secondly, there is the strain and stress of long hours of hard work to the pregnant woman; and thirdly, there is the absence from home of the mother and the infant. It cannot be doubted that these are factors in the relation between factory occupation of women and a high infant mortality."‡

In 1912, Dr. Robertson, Medical Officer of Health for Birmingham, reported upon an inquiry he had caused to be carried out in two wards in Birmingham where wages were low and industrial employment of mothers fairly common.§ The results of the investigation were not conclusive, but suggested that poverty was more injurious to infant life than employment of the mother. The Medical Officer of the Local Government Board discusses the question in his first report in 1910 on Infant and Child Mortality.|| and quotes some figures published by Dr. Reid, Medical Officer of Health of Staffordshire, which indicates that the infant death rate is greatest and has declined least in the five large towns in the county having the highest proportion of married and widowed women industrially employed. In a later report dealing with Infant Mortality in Lancashire, Sir Arthur Newsholme returns

* Report of Registrar-General for 1911, p. xliii.

† See Annual Reports of Chief Inspector of Factories, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903.

‡ Infant Mortality, 1906, p. 131.

§ Report on Industrial Employment of Married Women and Infantile Mortality, Birmingham, 1912.

|| Page 56.

to this subject and remarks: "It is reasonable to believe that the industrial occupation of women, in so far as it exposes the pregnant mother to laborious work and strain, and in so far as it separates the infant from its mother, thus not only preventing suckling but also diminishing the individual care which the mother can devote to her infant, must tend to increase infantile sickness and mortality. In the textile districts such industrial occupation of expectant or nursing mothers is seldom rendered necessary by poverty."^{*}

Regular breast feeding by a healthy mother for the first eight or nine months of life is one of the best means of ensuring healthy infancy and is the greatest natural protection to the baby. It is particularly important during the earlier months, and in homes where through poverty or carelessness proper attention is not given to cleanliness and suitable preparation of the milk or other food. It is the chief safeguard against epidemic diarrhœa in the summer months, and nutritional disturbances, including rickets, throughout the year. It has been estimated that probably four-fifths of the babies of the wage-earning classes are breast fed during part at least of the first nine months of infancy.[†] Artificial feeding diminishes the infant's chance of survival during the first years of its life and increases the liability to subsequent weakness and debility. If the mother is at home it is cheaper and, on the whole, less troublesome to feed the baby herself, quite apart from any other reasons. If she is regularly employed it is impossible for her to nurse the infant by day, though she often continues to do so by night. In these circumstances, unless the child is sent to a properly-managed crèche, it is likely to be in charge of an unskilled "minder" and exposed to the serious dangers to health arising from careless hand feeding.

In reviewing the distribution of infant mortality in England and Wales it will be found that the areas of highest mortality are the mining and manufacturing districts. The industry associated with the highest infant mortality is mining; the pottery industries come next, followed by the textile industries of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Although there is little or no employment of married women in mining districts, the housing and sanitation are notably defective; the amount of overcrowding is relatively high and the standard of general hygiene is low. Moreover, the domestic work of the women is exceptionally arduous on account of the occupation of their husbands and sons. Thus, many of the causes associated with a high infant mortality are present. In the pottery and textile trades we find a large proportion of occupied married women, together with, in the pottery trade, low wages and the handling of a substance specifically dangerous to infant life, namely, lead.[‡] In both these trades there is likely to be a desire to return to work after childbirth, which inevitably leads to more or less hand feeding of the infant.

(d) *Married Women's Labour.*

The industrial employment of married women has already been touched upon in connection with infant mortality, but there are other aspects

* Third Report on Infant and Child Mortality, 1913-14, p. 19.

† Report by Medical Officer of Local Government Board on Infant and Child Mortality, 1910, p. 70.

‡ The handling of lead by women has been forbidden, mainly because of its effect on maternity. While it is possible that lead poisoning does not prevent pregnancy it undoubtedly has a pronounced ecobolic effect. For example, Miss Paterson and Miss Deane, two of H.M. Lady Inspectors of Factories, found that out of 77 married women reported as suffering from lead poisoning in the year ending March 31st, 1897, 15 were childless, 8 had 21 stillborn children, 35 had 90 miscarriages, and of these 15 had no child born. Out of 101 living children, 40 died in infancy, mostly from convulsions. (Annual Report Chief Inspector of Factories, 1897, p. 53.)

of this question which call for consideration, namely, the direct effect on the health of the mother while she is bearing or nursing a child, the general effect on her health in view of her domestic responsibility and duties, and the effect on her home and children. Probably most married women who go out to work do so because their husband's wages are absolutely or relatively insufficient to maintain the family in reasonable comfort. Others, and probably an increasing number, continue to work after marriage because they are accustomed to factory life and like it, and also because they appreciate the advantages of a separate and independent income. Some witnesses urged that economic independence is extremely desirable for the married woman, even if it necessitates regular all-day absence from home. Others took the view that though poverty might drive a mother into industry this could only be regarded as the lesser of two evils, and that no one could replace the mother at home in the care of her own children. It is not only the infant who suffers when the mother goes to work. As was pointed out, the ex-baby and the younger children may be even more affected, as the "minder" is usually paid to give some special care to the baby, whereas the other children are often left to shift more or less for themselves and look after one another as best they can.

The great physical strain placed upon the woman who is industrially employed and also has a home and family to manage is often unrealised because the woman shoulders this heavy burden patiently as a matter of course and without complaint. That she is often surprisingly successful, though at the expense of her own youth and physical vigour, is no reason why the nation should be content to allow its mothers to wear themselves out in a life of colourless drudgery and a continual struggle with difficulties which frequently prove too great to be overcome and of the results of which there is ample evidence in the sickness returns under the National Health Insurance Act.* In addition to the general physical strain, a woman who has had children is more liable than one who has not to various forms of injury and disability arising from heavy work, work involving constant standing and so forth. Pathological conditions following upon confinement are likely to be accentuated and prolonged by certain forms of factory work. In such circumstances it is not possible for a woman to give her children that care and attention which is needful for healthy physical development and for the prevention of avoidable defects and ailments, or to make her home as pleasant, comfortable and hygienic as she would otherwise do. It has been suggested that the wages earned at a factory would be sufficient to enable a married woman to employ proper domestic assistance, and to some extent this would make good the disadvantages of the absence of the mother. It should be remembered, however, that in a district where it is the custom for married women to go to work domestic labour is usually scarce. Further, the working woman usually prefers to do her own housework. She may "put her washing out," for example, but naturally she is loth

* "Against the emphasis thus placed upon low wages as a source of excessive sickness, the experience of the Lancashire textile trades, where, though wages are comparatively good, the sickness rate has proved exceptionally high, may be urged, but here the influence of the industrial employment of childbearing women must be allowed for. It is not surprising that under the treble strain of childbearing, wage-earning and household drudgery, women break down. The evidence is overwhelming that unsuitable occupations during pregnancy, especially late pregnancy, and a premature return to work after confinement, are a prime cause of sickness in women not only at the time of childbirth but in later life." (Report of the Departmental Committee on Sickness Benefit Claims under the National Insurance Act, Memorandum A., by Miss Mary Macarthur, 14 and 15.)

to admit another woman to her home during her absence. She would rather "keep herself to herself," even though this means greater labour and fatigue.

V.—SOME LESSONS DERIVED FROM THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN UNDER WAR CONDITIONS.

(i) RELATION OF CAPACITY TO CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT, INCLUDING HOURS OF WORK.

During the war the employment of women has been modified in various respects; first, the number of employed women has been considerably increased;* secondly, women have been employed as substitutes for men in many occupations hitherto regarded as "men's work," which has in some cases involved heavy and arduous labour; thirdly, the restrictions in regard to hours of work have been removed, the hours worked have been long, overtime was general at the beginning of the war, and night shifts have been usual throughout; fourthly, the wages as a whole have been considerably in advance of pre-war wages; in almost all cases an adequate subsistence level has been reached and in many cases has been exceeded. As regards controlled firms, the supervision of employment exercised by the Ministry of Munitions and also by the Home Office has been close, it has been applied with increasing efficiency of wages, to factory conditions and environment and to the health and welfare of the workers, in a way never before attempted by a Government Department. The practice followed in controlled firms has naturally affected other trades and occupations and has tended to raise the standard of payment, hygiene, etc., though to a less extent than in "munition" work.†

The effect of the altered conditions of employment upon the health of the women workers has been watched by the Departments concerned and also by the Health of Munition Workers' Committee, which issued a number of Memoranda and Reports which were largely instrumental in securing an amelioration of many unsatisfactory arrangements which existed both within and without the factory in the early days of the war. The Committee also undertook the individual examination of 2,500 women munition workers with a view to ascertaining the effects of employment on their health. The results of this enquiry were, on the whole, an agreeable surprise to the investigators who had anticipated a much heavier burden of sickness and fatigue. The actual findings, however, were sufficiently serious and were summed up as follows:—

- (1) That there is a definite burden of fatigue which, though relatively small in amount as regards severe fatigue, is considerable as regards that of a less severe character.
- (2) That the fatigue and ill-health are less than might have been anticipated, having regard to the hours of work and the nature of the employment, and that this is due, broadly speaking, to the greatly improved attention to the health and welfare of the workers,
- (3) That fatigue and sickness are greatest where heavy work is combined with long hours at the factory and associated with onerous domestic duties after factory hours.

* In July, 1914, 2,175,500 women were employed in industries alone, and 3,275,000 if other occupations are included. In January, 1918, there had been an increase of 533,000 (24·5 per cent.) in industry, and 1,466,000 (44·8 per cent.) in all occupations.

† The passing of the Police, Factories, etc. (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1916, has empowered the Home Office to make special Orders relating to the health and welfare of women workers.

- (4) That unless brought under control the considerable amount of moderate weariness and ill-health now present is likely to reduce immediate efficiency and also exercise, in many cases, an injurious effect on subsequent health and on capacity for maternity.*

The fact that the women were able to stand the work as well as they did was attributed (a) to good wages, enabling them to feed and clothe themselves properly, (b) to healthy conditions in the factories, and (c) to welfare and health supervision, including the provision of protective clothing, canteens, rest rooms, surgeries and medical advice. It may confidently be asserted that if similar demands had been made upon women working under pre-war factory conditions they could not have been met to the same extent, if, indeed, they were met at all, without causing an immensely greater amount of fatigue and permanent injury to the health of women and girl workers. As it was, most women enjoyed the more interesting, active and arduous occupations, and in many cases their health improved rather than deteriorated. Medical officers of factories and welfare supervisors have pointed out the beneficial effects of open-air conditions (yard work, trucking in filling factories, etc.) on the general health, and the success with which properly selected women have undertaken work involving the lifting of weights, heavy machine work, and even forge and foundry work, without untoward physical consequences. The whole experience tends to show that light sedentary work is not by any means always the most suitable for women, that operations involving a change of posture are preferable and that given adequate nutrition many women would have better health and greater physical vigour if they followed more active occupations.

The general effect of munition work and "dilution" has been to increase the women's confidence in their own powers and to lead their employers and fellow-workmen to place a higher value on their capacity. As Miss Anderson remarks: "If this new valuation can be reflected on to their own special and often highly-skilled and naturally indispensable occupations, a renaissance may there be effected of far greater significance even than the immediate widening of women's opportunities, great as that is. Undervaluation there in the past has been the bane of efficiency, and has meant a heavy loss to the nation."†

Various witnesses have urged the abolition of all special protective legislation for women after the war. They consider that women ought not to be prevented on physical grounds from entering any trades open to men (unless sex injury can be proved, as in the case of lead poisoning), or from working similar hours to men, or from engaging in night work. It is suggested that the conditions of employment should be improved for men and women equally and that it is unfair to handicap a woman economically by restricting the conditions under which she may work. There is some truth in these arguments, but, on the other hand, it should be remembered that women as a class are still, unfortunately, unorganised and, therefore, in a far more helpless position than men in the face of unreasonable demands on the part of unscrupulous employers; to abandon all restrictive legislation might still lead to the exploiting of women and the return of some of the abuses which this legislation was designed to remove. The women factory inspectors examined were unanimous in desiring the re-imposition of some restriction of women's

* Final Report of Health of Munition Workers Committee, p. 23. Also Appendix B(I) and B(II).

† Effect of the third year of War on Industrial Employment of women and girls. By Miss Anderson, H.M. Principal Lady Inspector of Factories and Workshops, 1916.

labour, though it was considered that a revision of the Factory Acts was desirable.

Hours of Work.—The disadvantages of long hours of work for women have been clearly demonstrated during the war, and the general opinion of witnesses appeared to be that after the war the hours of work for women should not exceed 48 per week, and that a 44-hour week (with a Saturday half-holiday) was preferable. Miss Anderson pointed out that a limitation of hours was necessary in the national interest, in order to enable women with domestic responsibilities to carry out their home duties. Miss Constance Smith stated that before the war it was a growing practice for women to work much shorter hours than those permitted by the Factory Act. It was the usual view that a five hours' spell is too long for women and that a four hours' spell should be the maximum. Attention was called to the advantage of a short break in the morning spell, especially when work begins early and where there is no breakfast interval, as workers often have no time for a proper meal before leaving home. In the Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for 1917, Mr. Bellhouse discusses the advisability of commencing work after instead of before breakfast, and sets out the following results of the experiment at Paisley, which are typical of the findings elsewhere:—

- (1) Bad time-keeping in the morning has almost disappeared.
- (2) Sickness amongst the girls in the first hours of the morning, which was common when work started at 6 a.m., has largely ceased.
- (3) Reduction in output is hardly noticeable in departments where it depends on the activity of the worker, and not in proportion to the drop of one hour per day, even in departments where output depends chiefly upon machine hours.
- (4) Better work is secured and maintained.

It is understood that shorter hours would result in better time-keeping, especially where married women are concerned, and that in most trades and processes output would not suffer and might even improve.*

In regard to *night work*, although controlled night work during the war has not caused many of the evil results of the unlimited night work of former days, it is not desirable that it should be permitted to women after the war, on physical if on no other grounds. Night work may also be injurious to men and should never be resorted to except in case of necessity; but men are better able to withstand the ill-effects than women. As Miss Martindale pointed out, night shifts, and especially permanent night shifts (as obtain, for example, in the woollen trades), are particularly harmful to women with domestic responsibilities, as it is more difficult for them to obtain adequate sleep; they invariably do their own housework during the day and their rest is subject to continued interruption; their work becomes inferior in quality and their health suffers.

Evidence given before the Health of Munition Workers Committee showed that an extensive system of *overtime* could only have an injurious effect on workers, both morally and physically, and that if continued for a long period reduced rather than increased output. It appears to be specially harmful to young girls of 14-16 years of age and to married women between 30 and 40. It is to be hoped that overtime will be practically abolished when normal conditions return.

* The causes and conditions of lost time and the arrangement and length of spells and pauses were investigated for the Health of Munition Workers' Committee by Professor Loveday, and the question is also discussed in their Interim and Final Reports.

Although some regulation of women's labour is thus likely to be continued after the war, it is probable that the need for special protection for women and girls will disappear in large measure when a revision of the existing Factory Acts has resulted in a levelling-up of the conditions under which men work to the standard which is now considered desirable for women.

(ii) THE SUPERVISION OF THE HEALTH OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER.

Special arrangements for the supervision of the health of employed men and women were almost non-existent before the war, except in those trades scheduled by the Home Office as dangerous. During the war an extended supervision has been considered advisable, especially where women are employed, partly on account of the peculiar dangers to health involved in handling various high explosives, partly because the exceptionally heavy nature of some of the work might result in definite physical injury, and partly because of the long hours, night shifts, etc. It has been suggested that when normal conditions return the care of the health of workpeople should be developed rather than curtailed, especially where women and young girls are concerned. Before considering what is possible or desirable, it may be useful to set out the powers already possessed by Local Authorities in regard to medical examination and treatment.

Under the *Notification of Births (Extension) Act*, 1915, every birth must be notified to the Medical Officer of Health within 36 hours, and under this Act and the *Maternity and Child Welfare Act*, 1918, the Sanitary Authority have power to make arrangements for the health and welfare of mothers and young children. The *Education (Administrative Provisions) Act*, 1907, placed upon Local Education Authorities the duty of medically inspecting every child on admission to school and at such subsequent periods as the Board of Education should determine. It also gave power to the Authorities to provide treatment for physical defects so detected. The *Education Act* of 1918 imposes upon Authorities a duty to provide adequate and suitable treatment for children in attendance at Public Elementary Schools. It also imposes a duty to provide for the medical inspection of boys and girls under 18 years of age on admission to certain educational institutions, including continuation schools, and on such other occasions as may be prescribed by the Board of Education, in addition to giving power to provide facilities for medical treatment. Under the *Factory and Workshops Act*, 1901, the Certifying Factory Surgeon gives certificates of fitness for employment to children employed in factories (but not workshops) and to young persons under the age of 16 which are based on a personal medical examination. The examination is often perfunctory, and as it is not followed up by inspection and treatment is largely useless. In addition to this duty the certifying Factory Surgeon is responsible for the monthly examination and, if necessary, the supervision of men and women engaged in "dangerous" trades; further, all serious accidents and cases of poisoning or of anthrax must be notified to him. He also has certain duties in regard to compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906. When the young person reaches the age of 16 he comes within the provisions of the *National Health Insurance Act*, and is eligible for the benefits of medical treatment, sick pay, etc., therein prescribed.

Provision has therefore already been made for medical inspection and treatment under the Local Education Authority up to 18 years of age. When the new Education Act has had time to become fully operative we may assume that the boy or girl entering industry will have been under regular medical care and supervision during the whole of school life and

will have received treatment for such physical defects as have revealed themselves. The health records so obtained will indicate whether a child is unsuited on physical grounds to enter any particular occupation, and with the aid of the Juvenile Employment Officers such children should be directed to work which is not likely to prove injurious. During the first three or four years of employment, some of the most important from the point of view of physical health, the young person will remain under the supervision of the School Medical Officer, and will be subject to further periodical medical examinations.

It is clearly not desirable to attempt any systematic medical examination of adult persons over the age of 18. On the other hand, it is important that there should be a greater measure of protection for the health of the industrial worker, in order to prevent avoidable disease and disablement and to ensure effective action when disease has occurred. A new conception of the function of Medicine is arising in the minds of practitioners and public. In older days emphasis was laid on the *cure* of disease; now it is being recognised that the true business of medical science is to *prevent* disease. The idea of the new Preventive Medicine is "to subdue, restrict and, in the far future it may be, to annihilate the tendencies to morbid variation in the healthy body of man. Its purpose is to prevent not only the spread of disease, but its occurrence. Secondly, it is concerned with the causes and conditions of disease, which must be sought and known and then brought under control. And thirdly, in achieving this, or attempting to achieve it, preventive medicine must determine and secure the maximum of those optimum conditions of life for the individual and the community which form the frontier defence against the enemy of disease and death. In other words, the science and art of preventive medicine has an object which is two-fold: it seeks to avoid the occasion of disease and physical disability by anticipating it, by escaping it, or by protecting the body against it (prophylaxis); and it aims also at husbanding and controlling the physical resources of the individual and the community in such a way and to such a degree that the individual lives the healthy life and can exert unhampered his full powers of natural resistance to the invasion of infection or strain (hygiene). Its purpose is prevention of disease by removing its causes and conditions, by reducing the spread of disease through contagion or infection and by the development of the physical resistance of the individual."*

As long ago as 1875 Dr. William Farr discussed the effects of industrial enterprise on birth and death rates, and expressed the view that where a new industrial enterprise had been suddenly developed, although the marriage rate and birth rate were raised to a higher pitch by prosperity, and indeed rose more rapidly than the death rate, the mortality rate increased considerably in spite of "work plentiful, wages good, provisions cheap," on account of bad sanitation and neglected hygiene. "South Wales," he said, "has been rendered prosperous by the mines, and unhealthy by the negligence of the people. The mining population appears to be even less careful of life than the manufacturing population."† Since those days we have to face a steadily declining birth rate, and although a great advance has been accomplished in the direction of securing more adequate sanitary provision in industrial districts, yet the position is still far from satisfactory, as we have continued to neglect almost entirely the personal health of the workers and its rela-

* Some Notes on Medical Education in England. By Sir George Newman, K.C.B., M.D. (page 87).

† Supplement to the 35th Report of the Registrar General, page xiv.

tion to conditions of employment. Now that we have learned to recognise the gravity of this issue we shall no longer be content that our men and women workers shall suffer from unnecessary and avoidable evils arising from their employment or that their period of efficiency shall be curtailed by occupational diseases due to overstrain or unsatisfactory environment. The experience of the war has conclusively proved the pressing need for research and investigation into many questions of industrial fatigue and disease, and has shown that continued medical care of the health of the workers is of vital importance. For this purpose the establishment of a Factory Medical Service would appear to be necessary. The duties of Factory Medical Officers might comprise the supervision of (a) the general hygiene of the factory, including sanitation, ventilation, lighting, heating, etc.; (b) the particular hygiene of processes likely to involve hazard, discomfort or injury to workers; (c) the maintenance of surgeries, first-aid equipment, rest-rooms, etc.; and (d) the general health and welfare of the workers, men, women and young people, with particular regard to the conditions under which women and young people are employed. Further, it should be the duty of the factory doctors to investigate and report upon any trades, processes or forms of work which appear to lead to general or specific ill-health or to shorten unduly the lives of workers employed therein. They should act in an advisory capacity only, and should not undertake the treatment of disease in any form.

Such a service might conceivably be established centrally under the Home Office, and locally under the Sanitary Authority. This would presumably entail the formation of a strong central Medical Department at the Home Office, staffed by men and women doctors, and the appointment of a considerable number of medical officers (women as well as men), to act as local medical inspectors of factories. The nucleus of such a service might possibly be drawn from the ranks of the Certifying Factory Surgeons, whose present duties would obviously be superseded in one direction by the School Medical Officers, and in the other by the Factory Medical Inspectors. The chief administrative difficulty to this arrangement lies in the lack of co-ordination between the Home Office and the Local Sanitary Authority, upon which devolves the duty of supervising the health of the people elsewhere than in the factory. At present the Medical Officer of Health has certain duties in regard to the sanitation of workshops, somewhat less responsibility in relation to factories, and no official concern at all for the health of workers during employment. As was pointed out by Dr. Joseph, this form of administration cannot yield the best results. The suggested means of providing for the medical inspection of factories would make it necessary to enlarge the powers and duties of the Medical Officer of Health in connection with factories and to provide him with a sufficient staff to undertake their adequate inspection and supervision, this branch of his work being under the general control of the Home Office in much the same way as the Medical Officer of Health in his capacity of School Medical Officer is under the supervision of the Board of Education. Such an arrangement would have the obvious advantage of combining in one local administration the whole of the powers and duties relating to health in any one area, of preventing overlapping of function and of promoting smooth and rapid action.

A word may be added in regard to "Welfare Supervision." This is closely allied to health supervision generally, and might well become the agency in the factory through which the factory doctor would act. Welfare work is not a war invention, but it has been immensely developed as a result of war conditions of employment. In most factories engaged

in munition work, and in numerous others, welfare officers have been appointed,* whose qualifications have been as diverse as their duties. The success of the experiment has depended largely upon the personality of the officer. If welfare work is to retain a permanent position in industry it will be necessary for the qualifications and the duties of the welfare officer to be standardised in order that her position may be clearly defined and established and easily comprehended by employers, managers, foremen, workpeople and trade unions. It is not the intention here to discuss these somewhat thorny questions, but one of the obvious functions of the welfare officer would seem to be an oversight of the health of the workers and a watchful care that they are not engaged upon unsuitable work or under injurious conditions. Opinions differ as to whether the factory nurse and the surgery, or the arrangements for first aid, should be under the welfare officer. If the latter is a properly qualified woman it seems, on the whole, desirable that they should. In any case co-operation should be close. The records kept at the surgery of all minor ailments and injuries, etc., should be available for the information of the welfare officer as they may be of great assistance in association with the observation of the effects upon health of the factory conditions. It may be added that the need for welfare work is not confined to women and girls, but that boys, and even men, might come within its province with advantage.

(iii) ANTE-NATAL AND POST-NATAL EMPLOYMENT.

Ante-Natal Employment.—There is not much evidence as to the direct effect of employment on the health of the pregnant woman. Such as there is suggests that suitable employment under reasonably good conditions is beneficial rather than harmful. In whatever class of society, a sedentary, unoccupied life is not healthy for the expectant mother. The working woman in her own home is busily occupied and often undertakes heavy work (e.g., washing) not well suited to her condition. The factory worker may be engaged in light work, the regular hours and meal times may suit her, and she is able to pay someone to undertake part of her housework if she wishes to do so. On the other hand, her health may vary from day to day and the regular life of the factory then becomes irksome, her work may entail prolonged standing or other fatiguing or harmful conditions. She may find the journey to and from work tiring or unpleasant. If her circumstances permit, the average working woman almost invariably prefers to remain at home after her condition becomes obvious, except perhaps in certain industries such as the textiles.

The Women's Industrial Council recently undertook an investigation into the "quality of maternity" in relation to industrial occupation, and collected particulars concerning 934 women, of whom 572 were not industrially occupied. The numbers are admittedly small, and the report points out the desirability of a more extended inquiry. No definite results were obtained, except, perhaps, as regards the unhealthiness of "sitting" occupations. But the report "certainly revealed that, judging by any or all of the tests to which we have put our 934 cases, there is practically nothing to choose in quality of maternity between those who go out to work and those who stay at home."†

One essential condition of normal pregnancy is good and sufficient food. The woman not only has to provide for her own needs, but for

* These officers have various titles, e.g. Welfare Supervisor, Lady Superintendent, &c. The term "welfare" is not an altogether happy one, but so far no entirely acceptable alternative has been suggested.

† Women's Industrial News, July, 1918.

those of the developing child, which makes an increasingly heavy call upon her as gestation proceeds. Medical witnesses were agreed that light factory work was not in itself objectionable and that it was better for a woman to work than to be under-fed. Some interesting experiments in regard to the employment of pregnant women have been undertaken in certain munition factories, the results of which were said to be extremely favourable to mothers and infants.

The most complete was that in connection with the Leeds National Projectile Factories described by Dr. Rhoda Adamson. Another was carried out at the Aintree National Filling Factory and described by Dr. Mary Deacon. The arrangements at Leeds provided graded employment suitable for women during the whole of pregnancy. No process involving heavy lifting or sudden strain was permitted, and no night work after the fourth month. At the end of the seventh month women were transferred to the clothing store and sewing depot, where they worked shorter hours and had special facilities for meals. The wages during these latter months amounted to 22s. a week. The women were under medical supervision and it was proposed to take them back to work a month after confinement whenever possible. At Aintree no elaborate arrangements were made for grading pregnant women, except that they were not allowed to undertake heavy work.*

Whether schemes of this kind are practicable or desirable in normal times is doubtful. Few factories are large enough to justify separate and special arrangements for their own employees, though welfare supervisors or women managers might easily take measures for the assistance of particular women brought to their notice. The dislike of the women themselves to any form of segregation should also be considered. There are obvious difficulties in the way of several factories combining to provide separate workrooms, or for the provision of such workrooms by Local Authorities. It must be remembered that during the war the numbers of married women employed were abnormally great, that they were often employed on heavy work, that separation allowances were not always adequate for the proper support of the family, and that the mother was therefore particularly anxious to continue in employment as long as possible.

The most dangerous period of pregnancy, from the point of view of the child, is the first three months. Miscarriages, which may be due to overstrain or unsuitable work, are most common during this period, and the mother is more likely to attempt to terminate the pregnancy during the early weeks than at any other time. No control can be exercised, as the condition can only be ascertained by the voluntary consent of the woman herself, and at any stage notification of pregnancy is, for many reasons, highly undesirable. Towards the end of pregnancy there would seem to be an increased risk of premature birth or other complications if a woman remains at work too long. Bearing in mind, however, the relatively small number of women employed in the later stages of pregnancy, any general action to be taken for the protection and welfare of the expectant mother might most suitably be carried out in the direction of extending ante-natal and maternity provision under the Sanitary Authority rather than by initiating factory supervision or control.

* For further information see *The Work of a Department for Employing Expectant Mothers in a Munitions Factory*, by Dr. Rhoda H. B. Adamson and H. Palmer Jones, *British Medical Journal*, September 21st, 1918, and *Employment of Pregnant Women in Munition Factories*, by Dr. Mary Deacon, *Lancet*, September 7th, 1918.

Post-natal Employment.—Under Section 61 of the Factory and Workshops Act of 1901, the occupier of a factory or workshop shall not knowingly allow a woman or girl to be employed therein within four weeks after she has given birth to a child. This is the only enactment which attempts to regulate the employment of women who have recently been confined. It was presumably an endeavour to prevent women returning to factory work before their health was sufficiently re-established. There is no administrative machinery to ensure its observance, and it is operative mainly because women seldom, in fact, desire to return to work until at least a month has elapsed.

Assuming a normal confinement, and given suitable conditions of convalescence, a woman should regain her usual health in four to six weeks, and, as far as she herself is concerned, ought to be able to resume her ordinary occupation provided that this is not of an exceptionally arduous character. In working-class homes, however, the two conditions are not often fulfilled. The mother may suffer from a difficult confinement or from unskilful midwifery, she is apt to get up too soon and to overtax her strength by undertaking her household tasks prematurely, thus she is not fully restored to health at the end of the month. If she is obliged to return to industrial work notwithstanding, her recovery is likely to be still further retarded, and as she has to cease the regular feeding of her baby, her capacity to nurse it when at home may cease.

For the sake of the mother and the child, it is clearly desirable that the mother should have not less than one month of ease and comfort in order to complete her own recovery, and that she should be in a position to nurse her child for the normal period. No extension of Section 61 will in itself secure this unless at the same time financial assistance is given to the mother to enable her to remain at home without anxiety.

(iv) GRANTS IN AID OF MATERNAL AND INFANT WELFARE.

A number of witnesses emphasised the desirability of introducing special financial provision for the purpose of enabling women to refrain from work at least sufficiently long after their confinements as to ensure the proper care of their infants. The question is highly controversial and is not entirely relevant to the inquiry, as it necessarily relates to all women and not only to employed women. The importance of the issue and the stress laid upon it by witnesses however, may justify the inclusion.

The necessity for adequate care of the mother before, during and after her confinement is obvious, also the fact that she should have an opportunity of nursing her infant if possible for a period of nine months. Under present conditions the mother does not receive adequate care in the large majority of cases and she may be unable to nurse her child in part or at all on account of circumstances beyond her control. There is no doubt that the health of many women has been injured through neglect or unskilful treatment during the period of child-bearing. One of the principal factors which operate against breast feeding is poverty, either by causing the mother to suffer from malnutrition and ill-health, or by making it incumbent upon her to seek employment away from home, and many infants have suffered and even died as a result of the incapacity of the mother through poverty or absence to provide them with proper nourishment and attention. This is admittedly a serious state of affairs which urgently needs remedy.

It has been suggested that the desired end could be reached by means of adequate grants in aid made to the mother at the time of and sub-

sequent to her confinement. It was the general opinion that these grants should be non-contributory, that they should be available for all women below the income tax limit (some witnesses preferred to impose no limit), that they should preferably cover a period of nine months after confinement and perhaps one or two months before, but if the cost of this was prohibitive, that they should be for periods of six or three months after confinement, the three months after being regarded as the most vital period. The well-being of the child appeared to be the primary concern and it was recommended that a mother in receipt of grants should be prohibited from seeking employment away from home. No witness put forward a definite scheme for administering or controlling such grants and no estimates of the cost had been made.

Before considering these proposals it was thought desirable to obtain an estimate of the probable expenditure involved in several alternative schemes. The figures in the appended table were supplied by Sir Alfred Watson, Government Actuary. The weekly amounts are based on a minimum wage of 6d. per hour for a 40, 44 and 48 hour week respectively.

Estimated Cost of Special Maternity Benefits under the Alternative Schemes.

Period of Payment.	All Women who claim (irrespective of any question of insurance under the National Health Insurance Acts).			Insured Women and Wives of Insured Men. (These figures do not include the wives of men who, though earning less than £100 a year, are under the Act excepted from Insurance. The inclusion of these would increase the cost figure by something over ten per cent.)			Insured Women.*		
	At 21s. a week.	At 22s. a week.	At 20s. a week.	At 21s. a week.	At 22s. a week.	At 20s. a week.	At 21s. a week.	At 22s. a week.	At 20s. a week.
26 weeks	£ 30,950,000	£ 28,370,000	£ 25,790,000	£ 25,270,000	£ 23,170,000	£ 21,080,000	£ 8,830,000	£ 7,960,000	£ 7,230,000
13 weeks	£ 15,970,000	£ 14,640,000	£ 13,310,000	£ 13,000,000	£ 11,920,000	£ 10,840,000	£ 3,730,000	£ 3,420,000	£ 3,110,000
6 weeks	£ 7,700,000	£ 7,080,000	£ 6,420,000	£ 6,290,000	£ 5,780,000	£ 5,240,000	£ 1,440,000	£ 1,320,000	£ 1,200,000

* These estimates are subject to the important qualifications mentioned in an accompanying Memorandum.

The first question which arises is whether such grants, if and when available, should be restricted to employed insured women. The average number of births in the United Kingdom under normal conditions is about 1,100,000 a year, some 970,000 occurring in the working class population. The number of births among industrially employed women is about 130,000. Thus the cost of a scheme limited to women workers would be very much less than if all women participated. The answer to the question is, however, emphatically in the negative. In the first place it would be wholly unjust to single out a relatively small number of women for State grants merely because they happened to be employed, and secondly, as Sir Alfred Watson points out, there would be almost insuperable difficulties of administration. There would be the question of defining accurately the conditions of employment which entitled a woman to benefit, the difficulty of proving fulfilment of the conditions, and the powerful incentive to "self-stamping" insurance cards thus created. An even more serious objection lies in the temptation to married women, which would certainly arise, to return to and remain in industry for the sake of the grants. This would lead to increased competition among women for employment and might result in generally depressing

the rate of wages and in the under-cutting of unmarried women dependent on their earnings by married women not so dependent, who were prepared to accept less remuneration in view of the State aid during the period of unemployment. Further, the scheme would add greatly to the difficulties of administering National Health Insurance and would also materially increase the cost to the Exchequer.

Thus, if grants are given they should be available for all women now entitled to maternity benefit, and to these should be added the wives of men who are excepted from insurance under the Act as there would be no logical reason for excluding them and their need is often great. This would cost the Exchequer between 5 and 6 millions a year if the benefit was available for a period of six weeks, and between 11 and 13 millions a year if it was available for thirteen weeks. It should not be forgotten that these grants would necessarily be supplementary to the existing benefits under the National Insurance Act.

These may seem small sums if the fallacious comparison is made with the vast expenditure to which we have become accustomed during the War. Compared with pre-war expenditure, however, and in relation to expenditure on health, &c., in other directions, they are very large amounts.* Whether the sum involved is 6 or 12 millions it is necessary to consider, first, whether adequate value would be derived from this large expenditure, and secondly, whether equal or greater value to the community might not be secured from alternative and less costly schemes more in accordance with existing methods of the distribution of grants in aid by the State.

The specific objects of the proposed grants would be :—

- (a) to ensure efficient midwifery and nursing at the time of the confinement and thus to prevent avoidable injury to the mother's own health or to the infant;
- (b) to enable the mother to secure adequate nutrition and to obtain the period of rest necessary for complete recovery after confinement;
- (c) to reduce infant mortality by ensuring as far as possible regular breast feeding and the personal care of the mother.

The grants would presumably not be intended merely to relieve poverty or even generally to augment the family income.

There is no question that the grants would save the mother much anxiety in regard to the cost of her confinement and lying-in and the temporary loss of her services as household manager or part wage-earner. They would enable her to provide domestic assistance when this was available, the home would probably be more comfortable and the children better looked after while the mother was convalescent. She would feel able to take the necessary rest and procure sufficient nourishment. The general result would therefore be a substantial benefit to the mother and to the family.

* The estimated expenditure of the Local Government Board for the year 1918-19 in respect of grants for child welfare is £230,000; for the treatment of venereal disease £250,000; for tuberculosis in England £450,000. The estimated expenditure of the Board of Education for the same period for the medical inspection and treatment of school children is £230,000; for provision of meals to school children, £65,000; for schools for mothers and day nurseries, £28,500. The total estimated expenditure of the Board on education in England and Wales (excluding University, etc., grants) is £19,206,705.

Whether the more specific objects of the grants would be gained is another matter. The present maternity benefit (30s. to 60s.) pays the midwife or doctor. If the professional fee were increased it does not follow that more efficient treatment would be obtained. This could only be secured through a re-organised and improved midwifery service.* Again, money spent on the untrained nurse or handy-woman is useless if the intention of the grant is to ensure skilled nursing. This also could only be guaranteed through an efficient service of adequately trained nurses. Thus, though the mother might be more comfortable and less worried, neither she nor her infant would necessarily receive the skilled attention which they lack at the present time merely as a result of grants in aid apart from improved services.

The effect of the grants on infant mortality is also doubtful. As has been seen, breast feeding is usual among the majority of working class mothers during the early months, while many employed women do not at present desire to return to work during the first few months after childbirth. The infant mortality rate has been steadily declining, particularly during the past decennium, in spite of the increasing industrialisation of women. The fall is due to a variety of inter-dependent causes and there is no certainty or even likelihood that the grants would of themselves exert an appreciable effect on these causes. A certain number of children would be breast-fed who would otherwise have had the bottle and there would be a greater incentive to maternal care, but it is during the early months of life that "mothering" is always most constant and careful and it is doubtful whether grants would make a substantial difference apart from improvements in domestic hygiene, housing and environment.

The administration of such grants would be difficult and costly. At present there is no machinery for this purpose, though a nucleus might be found in the staff of the Local Sanitary Authority. Presumably the grants would depend on the continued breast feeding of the infants, a matter not easy to prove. Visits of Inspectors (possibly Health Visitors) to the home, or of the mother to the Maternity or Infant Welfare Centres would be necessary, but even so little control could be exercised over the spending of the money, especially in the later months. If the grants covered a period of six months or longer no mother could be expected to spend the money on herself or on her own food, it would almost necessarily be merged into the family income. The family as a whole would gain in consequence, but though this would be a valuable result as far as it went it would not be fulfilling the express purpose of the grants and might be obtained more satisfactorily in other ways.

On the whole, although from the general point of view direct grants in aid would be of material assistance to the mother and the family, the precise effect it is desired to obtain would either not be obtained or would be obtained only in part, while the cost of the improvement made in maternal health and infant welfare would probably be out of all proportion to the results. It may therefore be useful to consider whether, instead of establishing a wholly new grant with new machinery for administration it would not be preferable to utilise existing machinery, improving and extending it as becomes necessary.

* For further information regarding the present position of midwifery see the Report on the Physical Welfare of Mothers and Children in England and Wales to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 1917, Vol. II, part 1, "Midwives and Midwifery."

The State aid at present available for nursing and expectant mothers is as follows:—

- (a) *Maternity Benefit* under the National Insurance Act, which is a contributory benefit and which amounts to 30s. or 60s. according to whether the wife is insured as well as the husband. It is payable to the mother herself at the time of the birth and its expenditure is uncontrolled and unsupervised. There is no doubt that the maternity benefit has been of great service to many mothers at a period of financial stress and has enabled them at least to pay a doctor or a qualified midwife.*
- (b) *The Maternity and Child Welfare Act, 1918*, empowers the Sanitary Authority to provide assistance for mothers who require it in the form of treatment by medical practitioners or midwives, advice or help through Health Visitors, Maternity Centres or Infant Welfare Centres, and food or milk for mother or child if required. Machinery for full utilisation of the powers thus granted is not yet in existence, but foundations have been laid upon which a complete system of municipal advice, treatment and general help may eventually be constructed.

The main criticisms in regard to maternity benefit are that it is an *ad hoc* unsupervised grant, entirely unrelated to municipal provision for maternal welfare and not available for a certain number of women who are perhaps particularly in need of it. Further, it is administered under the Insurance Act by Approved Societies and not by the Sanitary Authority. Instead of setting up a new system of maternity grants overlapping the existing maternity benefit and administered by another Department of State, maternity benefit should be transferred to the Sanitary Authority; it should be placed on a non-contributory basis, made available for all women under the Income Tax Limit and increased to at least the 60s. now paid to the employed wives of insured men. This would no doubt involve fundamental modifications of the National Insurance Act, but the difficulties should not be insuperable. The administration of the grants would be more satisfactory as well as more agreeable to the women concerned and various existing anomalies would be removed.

It is idle to expect much improvement in the professional care of the mother and child until we have wholly efficient medical and midwifery services,† in addition to a more just and equitable distribution of maternity benefit. Such services could only be organised under a competent Health Authority. At present the satisfactory issue of a confinement depends too largely upon the skill of the doctor called in, who may or may not be expert in this branch of medicine, or of the midwife, who again may or may not be fully competent. It is essential that the mother should be able to secure a doctor or midwife, whichever she prefers, whose qualifications in this respect are beyond dispute. Further, there should be a full exercise by the Sanitary Authority of the powers

* In a Report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust Dr. Leslie Mackenzie discussed the question of maternity benefit, and gives a number of interesting details as to its expenditure in Scotland. His general conclusion is that the effect of the system on maternity benefits has been to raise the standard of attendance on maternity, and that of the whole the money benefit is spent on the purpose for which it was intended, namely, the improvement of maternity service. (Report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust on the Physical Welfare of Mothers and Children (Scotland), 1917, Vol. 3.)

† It has been estimated that a free and efficient service of midwives could be provided for about one million pounds per annum.

which already exist for the provision of food and milk, advice and treatment for mother and child, health supervision, &c., and their extension as and when found necessary.

It is submitted that the provision of large grants in aid, with no assurance that they will be applied to the specific purposes for which they were awarded, is an unscientific method of dealing with the problem of maternal and infant welfare, and that in any case to give such grants before securing an adequate health and medical service is unsound administration. If grants or pensions in addition to a revised maternity benefit prove to be necessary, it would be suitable to entrust the administration of such grants to the Central and Local Health Authorities responsible for the public health service.

VI.—CONCLUSIONS.

The general conclusions which emerge from the inquiry may be summed up as follows:—

1. The average woman is physically weaker than the average man, she cannot compete with him satisfactorily in operations requiring considerable physical strength, while competition in operations of a less arduous but still exacting character may be detrimental to her health in that her power of endurance and her reserve energy are usually less than the man's, while she is often obliged to spend time and strength on domestic tasks which do not fall to his lot.

The second fundamental physiological difference between the man and woman is the fact of her potential or actual motherhood. This necessarily governs to a large extent her industrial power, efficiency and value. It wholly prevents absolutely equal competition in industry, and though undue weight should not be given to possible impairment of the maternal function which may arise from circumstances connected with the nature of the employment, it cannot be disregarded if women are to be employed under the conditions most appropriate to them not only as individuals but also with a view to the future and well being of the race as a whole.

2. The conditions under which women were employed before the war were not such as to enable them to develop full health and vigour. Low wages, an unsatisfactory and inadequate dietary, long hours and lack of exercise in the open air, resulted in physical and industrial inefficiency and caused both men and women to place too low a value upon the woman's strength and capability.

3. The control of employment by the Home Office under the Factory and Workshops Acts, together with the advance in general sanitation which has proceeded more rapidly in relation to factory accommodation than to general housing, has done much to ameliorate the conditions of labour, but the powers exercised by the Home Office have been inadequate, and the small size of the inspecting staff, in spite of admirable work done, has prevented even these powers from being made fully effective.

4. Employment under the conditions existing in the past has probably had, upon the whole, an injurious effect upon the health of women and girls, though it is difficult to dissociate the effect of employment from social conditions generally. Women have suffered from numerous minor ailments, such as anæmia and "debility," which though not actually disabling have resulted in considerable broken time and loss of industrial efficiency, together with much suffering, discomfort and reduced vitality. The operation of the National Health Insurance Act has

revealed a large and unsuspected burden of sickness among employed women which compares unfavourably with the incidence of sickness among men. The rise, during the war, of the tuberculosis death rate among urban women suggests that any considerable increase in the number of women employed and in the period of their employment may, unless the conditions of employment are improved, cause the female death rate to approximate to that of the male, a result which could not fail to have a detrimental effect on the national health and efficiency.

5. The effects of employment on the function of motherhood are not easy to determine with exactitude. The direct result upon the reproductive system of the woman is probably largely negligible, except in the case of multiparous women engaged in heavy or fatiguing work. The indirect influence of employment in causing an impairment of the general health and vitality, is certainly considerable. The effect of the increasing employment of women on the *Birth Rate* has probably been to accelerate somewhat the steady decline which has been observed since 1876, and the figures relating to occupations in which married women's labour is common suggest that this result would become more pronounced if the proportion of employed married women was much increased. The influence of employment upon the *Infant Mortality Rate* is not altogether clear. The industry associated with the highest infant mortality rate is mining, in which there is little employment of married women, but the housing and sanitation are notably inferior and the standard of general hygiene and domestic comfort is low. Almost as high infant mortality rates are associated with the pottery and textile industries in which many married women are employed for long hours away from home. The regular employment of the mother necessarily deprives her infant of its natural food which is the greatest safeguard to its healthy growth and development, and also of the careful and constant attention which is so necessary to its successful nurture. On the other hand, poverty or an insanitary environment may have an even more injurious effect than the mother's absence. This is borne out by the low infant mortality rates in 1916 and 1917, years during which a continually increasing number of married women was being employed. Indeed, it is significant that the infant mortality rate has shown its most rapid decline in the last decennium during which industrial employment of women has increased.

6. Besides effect on the birth-rate and on infant mortality, the employment of married women may react directly on the personal health of the expectant and nursing mother, and on her general physical strength at other times by imposing a double burden of factory labour and domestic duties, while lack of "mothering" may lead to the moral and physical injury of the children. Employment under suitable conditions is not in itself injurious to the pregnant woman, while the money thus earned may enable her to be properly fed, a matter of the highest importance. If the work causes undue fatigue or involves strain or violence it may give rise to general or local injury and lead to premature confinement or complications of pregnancy. Section 61 of the Factory and Workshops Act, 1901, provides that a woman shall not return to work within four weeks of giving birth to a child, and is generally observed because most women do not desire to return to work until at least a month, and usually longer, after their confinement. It would be undesirable to extend this period unless grants in aid were available to assist the mother.

7. The results of employment of women under war conditions have emphasised the importance to health of the good food, clothing and

domestic comfort which can be obtained when the wages represent a reasonably adequate recompense for labour. They have also proved that properly nourished women have a much greater reserve of energy than they have usually been credited with and that under suitable conditions they can properly and advantageously be employed upon more arduous occupations than has been considered desirable in the past even when these involve considerable activity, physical strain, exposure to weather, &c. Light, sedentary occupations are not necessarily healthy occupations. The commercial futility of unduly long hours of work and of overtime has been demonstrated repeatedly, together with the benefit to health and to output of shorter hours, of the abolition of work before breakfast and of properly arranged spells and pauses. There is advantage to the employer as well as to the workpeople in the provision of factory canteens, well-equipped surgeries and rest-rooms, suitable arrangements for sanitation and hygiene, and, when necessitated by the nature of the work, of protective clothing.

8. Direct supervision of the health of industrial workers was almost non-existent before the war. Experience of war conditions has emphasised the need for more effective supervision and for energetic research into the causes of industrial fatigue and the methods of preventing disease directly or indirectly due to occupation. Factory hygiene must indeed become an integral part of the general system of preventive medicine which is likely to be the most important branch of medicine of the future. For this purpose an adequate service of factory medical officers is needed, having no duties of treatment, but charged with the general oversight of factory conditions, hygiene and health. With this may be associated the "welfare" service in individual factories, responsible to the factory management, and partly occupied in carrying out recommendations made in regard to the health of the workers.

9. It is obvious that an estimation of the physical issue, though not the primary concern of the Committee, is essential to the satisfactory elucidation of the problem under consideration. It forms an organic part of the question of the capacity and efficiency of the worker and necessarily raises relative questions between men and women. In content it is physiological rather than pathological, preventive rather than therapeutic, a matter of personal and public hygiene rather than one of clinical medicine or surgery. It should never be forgotten that the main object of appropriate health conditions is to secure a better and more capable human being, the relation to output and wages being secondary. Two essential principles can never be disregarded in considering the position of women in industry and their capacity and power of continuance to compete equally with men, namely, (i) the profound physiological differences between the man and the woman, and (ii) the woman's potential function of motherhood and child-bearing. The two are intimately related; if we allow the physical strength of the woman to be over-fatigued and her body under-nourished as it has been in the past, we cannot avoid greater or less injury to her capacity for motherhood, and so prevent her contributing her highest service to the State. The injury may be individual and temporary, but the stunted physique and poor health of many of our industrial workers suggest that there may also be the graver and more fundamental danger of injury to the germ plasm itself and so to the future of the race. We cannot afford to neglect the health of our workers, whether men or women, and if the war has driven this lesson home so forcibly that we are never allowed to forget it, it will have accomplished a national service which may help to make good some of the physical and material damage which has followed in the train of the war.

VII.—RECOMMENDATIONS.

The following recommendations are submitted:—

- (1) In order to secure and maintain physical health and efficiency no normal adult woman should be employed for less than a reasonable subsistence wage.
- (2) Further investigation is necessary, by scientific methods, into the physical effects of employment upon girls and women, having regard to their personal health, their capacity for motherhood, and the health and welfare of their children.
- (3) There should be a substantial reform and extension in scope of
 - the Factory and Workshop Acts, with special reference to (a) the reduction in the hours of work (including arrangement of spells and pauses, overtime night work); (b) the provision of seats, labour-saving devices, &c., to avoid unnecessary fatigue; (c) an improved standard of sanitation (sanitary conveniences, lavatories, cloakrooms, &c.), ventilation and general hygiene; (d) the provision of canteens, rest rooms and surgeries; (e) the general supervision of the health of the workers individually and collectively; and (f) the conditions under which adolescents should be employed.
- (4) The present Factory Medical Department at the Home Office should at once be strengthened by the appointment of an adequate and suitable staff of women medical inspectors of factories. The appointment of such officers has been too long deferred as the experience of the war has abundantly proved.
- (5) A considerable increase should be made in the staff of women factory inspectors under the Home Office.
- (6) A local Factory Medical Service should be established with duties of supervision, investigation and research intimately co-ordinated with the School Medical Service under the Local Education Authority, the Public Health Service under the Local Sanitary Authority, and the Medical Service under the National Insurance Act (or Ministry of Health when established).
- (7) There should be extended provision for maternal welfare which might appropriately take the form of revised and increased maternity benefit or of extended facilities for obtaining skilled assistance, nourishment, comfort, &c., or, preferably, of a combination of both.

JANET M. CAMPBELL.

December 19th, 1918.

MINORITY REPORT.

BY MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

THE RELATION BETWEEN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WAGES.

1. That the existing relation between the conditions of employment of men and women, whether in manual labour or in the brainworking occupations, is detrimental to the personal character and professional efficiency of both sexes, and inimical alike to the maximum productivity of the nation and to the advancement of the several crafts and professions.

2. That the exclusion of women by law or by custom, from the better paid posts, professions and crafts, has driven them to compete with each other, and with men, in the lower grades of each vocation, where they have habitually been paid at lower rates than men for equivalent work, on the pretence that women are a class apart, with no family obligations, smaller needs, less capacity and a lower level of intelligence—none of these statements being true of all the individuals thus penalised.

3. That, for the production of commodities and services, women no more constitute a class than do persons of a particular creed or race; and that the time has come for the removal of all sex exclusions; for the opening of all posts and vocations to any individuals who are qualified for the work, irrespective of sex, creed or race; and for the insistence, as minima, of the same qualifications, the same conditions of employment, and the same occupational rates, for all those accepted by the private or public employers as fit to be engaged in any particular pursuit.

4. That the popular formula of "Equal Pay for Equal Work," or, more elaborately, "Equal Pay for work of Equal Value in Quantity and Quality," whilst aiming at the expression of the right ideal, is so ambiguous and so easily evaded as not to constitute any principle by which the relation between men's and women's wages can be safely determined.

5. That the essential principle which should govern all systems of remuneration, whether in private industry or in public employment, in manual working as well as brain working occupations, is that of clearly defined Occupational or Standard Rates, to be prescribed for all the persons of like industrial grade; and, whether computed by time or by output, to be settled by collective agreement between representative organisations of the employers and the employed; and enforced, but as minima only, on the whole grade or vocation. There is no more reason for such Occupational or Standard Rates being made to differ according to the workers' sex than according to their race, creed, height or weight.

6. That in the interests alike of maximum productivity and race preservation, it is imperative that a National Minimum should be prescribed by law and systematically enforced, in respect, at least, of rest-time, education, sanitation and subsistence, *in which National Minimum there should be no sex inequality*; and that the present unsystematic, uneven, and patchwork provisions of the Factory, Educa-

tion, Public Health, Insurance and other Acts, in which the policy of the National Minimum has been so far empirically embodied, urgently need to be replaced by a comprehensive codification, equally applicable to all employments, and to the various requirements, including a legal minimum of weekly wages for the whole Kingdom based on the price of full subsistence below which no adult worker free from specific disqualification, should be permitted to be employed. These legal minimum conditions of employment and unemployment should be identical for men and women.

7. That there seems no alternative—assuming that the nation wants children—to some form of State provision, entirely apart from wages, of which the present Maternity Benefit, Free Schooling and Income Tax Allowance constitute only the germ. The assumption that men, as such, must receive higher pay because they have families to support; and that women, as such, should receive less because they have no such family obligations, is demonstrably inaccurate to the extent of 25 or even 50 per cent.; and if wages were made really proportionate to family obligations, it would involve a complete revolution in the present methods of payment; it would be incompatible alike with Collective Bargaining and with any control by the workers over their conditions of employment; and it would lead to a disastrous discrimination against the married man or woman, and still more against parentage. This question of public provision for maternity and childhood urgently requires investigation by a separate Committee or Commission.

8. That the chaos into which the war has thrown not merely the wages of men and women, but also the various occupational rates throughout industry and, indeed, the wages and salaries of all grades of producers of commodities and services—resulting in gross inequalities, and a serious lack of correspondence between incomes, efforts and needs—is not only a cause of hardship and discontent but also has a detrimental influence on national production; that what is required is a closer general approximation in all classes of society, of incomes to efforts and sacrifices, and this calls for a Royal Commission of enquiry into the sharing of the national product among classes, industries and individuals, in order that not only the maximum productivity of industry in the future, but also the maximum personal development of the citizens, and the improvement of the race, may be better secured than at present.

THE WAR PLEDGES OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO THE WAGES OF WOMEN TAKING THE PLACE OF MEN.

1. That the Treasury Agreement of 19th March, 1915, embodied a pledge that the women employed in war work in substitution of men should receive the same pay as the men they replaced.

3. That this pledge was applicable without exception to all kinds of war work, whether done by contractors or in any Government Department, to all degrees of skill, and to all methods of computing wages, including time, piece and premium bonus, and to allowances and advances.

3. That this pledge has been wholly ignored by some Government Departments, and only fulfilled by others, tardily and partially, to the great loss of the women concerned.

4. That no Government Department has carried out the pledge in its entirety. All of them (including the Ministry of Munitions) have failed in two points of first-rate importance, affecting many thousands of women, namely:—

- (a) Where women have been employed at time-rates they have— with the curious exception of women taking the place of skilled men within the sphere of the Ministry of Munitions— been denied the same pay as the men they have replaced.
 - (b) But the most flagrant breach is the repeated refusal of all the Government Departments to concede to the women employed in substitution for men, whether skilled or unskilled, whether at piece-work, the premium bonus system, or time wages, the successive advances granted to the men doing similar work—thus failing to carry out not only the Treasury Agreement, but also the interpretation authoritatively given by Mr. Lloyd George on 26th March, 1915 (which is accepted in the Majority Report as being an independent pledge by which the Government is bound) “that if the women turn out the same quantity of work they will receive exactly the same pay.”
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PART I.

THE RELATION BETWEEN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WAGES.

I regret that I am unable to agree with the Majority Report, either in its scope and substance, or in its conclusions and recommendations. It takes the form of a survey of the conditions upon which women have come into the modern industrial system, leading up to an elaborate statement of the terms on which women, as a class, should be allowed to remain there. I appreciate the value of the lucid summary of the evidence given before the Committee, although I do not always agree with the resulting statements as to what are the facts about women in industry, or with some of the conclusions drawn from these facts. But I taken another view of the reference to the Committee. What the Committee was charged to investigate and to report upon was not the wages and other conditions of employment of women, any more than the wages and other conditions of employment of men—still less the terms upon which either men or women should be permitted to remain in industry, but “the relation which should be maintained” between them, “having regard to the interests of both, as well as to the value of their work . . . and the progress and well-being of industry in the future.” The reference carefully avoids, in its terms, any implication of inequality. To concentrate the whole attention of the readers of the Report upon the employment of women, past, present and future, and upon their physiological and social needs, without any corresponding survey of the employment of men, and of their physiological and social needs, is to assume, perhaps inadvertently, that industry is normally a function of the male, and that women, like non-adults, are only to be permitted to work for wages at special hours, for special rates of wages, under special supervision and subject to special restrictions by the Legislature. I cannot accept this assumption. It seems to me that the Committee is called upon, in its consideration of the relation which should be maintained between the wages of women and those of men, to deal equally with both sexes. Hence, in the following report I have assumed that our task is to examine the principles upon which wages and other conditions of employment have hitherto been determined, with a view to deciding whether these principles affect differently men and women; whether such difference is justifiable in the interests of both of them, and of the progress and well-being of industry; and whether any new principle is called for on which the relation between them can be based.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH WAGES HAVE HITHERTO BEEN DETERMINED.

A.—THE PRINCIPLE OF INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING.

The dominant method of determining wages during the first half of the nineteenth century can only be described as the principle of having no principle at all with regard to wages, either for men or for women, but leaving the whole thing to the “higgling of the market,” to be settled, case by case, by individual bargaining according to “supply and demand.” Labour was, in fact, a commodity, to be bought and sold in a free market, like any other commodity. It is a mistake to imagine this “principle of no principle” has been completely given up, or that, in the

world of industry, it has ceased to prevail.* In spite of the spread of economic knowledge, during the last half century the principle of having no principle still lies in the background in the minds of many people thinking themselves educated; and right down to the outbreak of war it may be said to have governed the wages, not only of a majority of the women employed in British industry, but also of millions of the men. But experience has demonstrated, to the satisfaction of public opinion, as well as of the economists, that to leave the determination of wages, in a capitalist organisation of industry, to the unfettered operation of "individual bargaining" and the "higgling of the market" between individual employers and individual wage-earners, is to produce, in the community, a large area of "sweating"—defined by the House of Lords Committee of 1890 as "earnings barely sufficient to sustain existence; "hours of labour such as to make the lives of the workers periods of almost ceaseless toil, hard and unlovely to the last degree; sanitary conditions injurious to the health of the persons employed and dangerous to the public." For reasons into which it is unnecessary here to enter, the "higgling of the market," operating through individual bargaining, dominated down to the war the wages of women to a much greater extent than it did the wages of men. It must, in fact, be counted as the most potent factor prior to the war in making the statistical average of the net earnings of adult women in British industry (after deductions for lost time, &c.) probably less than £30 per annum, descending often as low, for an adult woman, as "a shilling a day," a sum manifestly insufficient for continuous full maintenance in health and efficiency. But it dominated also the wages of large numbers of men among the three-fifths of the adult male workers who were not organised, with the result that probably some millions of them engaged in many parts of the kingdom in agriculture, in dock and warehouse work, and in many nondescript occupations classed as unskilled labour did not receive (after deductions for lost time, &c.) as much as £55 a year, whilst many descended considerably below the "pound a week," which was not, at pre-war prices,

* Buying in the cheapest market is even to-day the principle with many employers. "All he [the manufacturer] troubles about," we are told by the Managing Director of the Dudley National Projectile Factory, "is how much he can get out of that person; he does not trouble whether it is a man or a woman. The second consideration is the question of cost: how cheap can I get it done for? And probably the last thing is the question of either the male or the female operative's health."—(The Shorthand Notes of Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee, 28.10.18, p. 41.) "There was no pre-war standard of women's wages," states a light leather manufacturer; "each employer paid pretty much as he chose, or as the women demanded."—(*Ibid.*, 2.12.18.) The National Laundry Workers' Union of Edinburgh state that in their industry, in which 93 per cent. of the workers are women, pre-war wages were from "4s. to 14s. per week of 60 hours. . . . There was no recognised scale of wage before the war. As there was always a surplus of that kind of labour, the employer reaped a great advantage, and the wages were regulated according to the employers' opinions."—(Memorandum by the National Laundry Workers' Union, Edinburgh, 1918, War Cabinet Committee, Memo. 118, p. 1.) The following cross-examination of the Managing Director of the Dudley National Projectile Factory describes the conditions prevalent in the Midlands:—"Q. Before the war I think you said at any moment you would get 10,000 women in Birmingham to work at 8s. a week?—A. Yes; the rate prior to what was known as the Great Black Country Strike in the end of 1913 was 12s. a week for a female of 21 years of age, and it worked down as low as pretty well 2s. 6d. in some of the cheaper industries, a week, to girls from 14, 15 and upwards."—(Shorthand Notes of the Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee, 28.10.18, p. 43.) Similar evidence is given by the representative of the National Union of Millers, who states that in 1913: "Each employer was almost a law unto himself. But I can say they were very poorly paid. I had a case some time back of a woman working in one of the Midland districts. She told me she had been working there some years. I asked her what wages she got, and she told me she averaged for something like 10 hours a day 10s. 6d. a week." The men's wages were on "a very low scale. I think that everyone recognises where any particular industry is not organised the conditions are awfully shocking."—(*Ibid.*, 3.12.18, pp. 47-8.)

enough to keep even a childless man continuously in industrial efficiency or healthy citizenship.

B.—THE PRINCIPLE OF THE NATIONAL MINIMUM.

Such a condition of things could not be permanently tolerated; and the community came gradually, though very tardily, to realise that the existence of large numbers of persons on "earnings barely sufficient to maintain existence; hours of labour such as to make the lives of the workers' periods of almost ceaseless toil, hard and unlovely to the last degree; sanitary conditions injurious to the health of the persons employed and dangerous to the public," amounted to a serious deduction alike from the productive efficiency, the material prosperity, the physical health and the social well-being, not merely of the individuals concerned but also of the nation as a whole. The outcome was the conception of prescribing and enforcing a national minimum in the conditions of the wage contract, below which, in the public interest, no person could be permitted to be employed. The principle of the national minimum has so far been only empirically and very partially put in operation; first, in regard to the portion of each twenty-four hours required for rest and recreation, by the successive Factories, Workshops, Shop Hours and Mines and Railways Regulation Acts; then, in respect of the sanitation, safety and amenity of work, by these statutes and by the Public Health Acts; then, with regard to education and the conditions under which employers can be permitted to use children and young persons in industrial operations, by the Education Acts; and latterly, in the matter of subsistence or wages, by the Trade Boards Acts, the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act and the Corn Production Act.

We have to note, in the popular conception of the principle of the national minimum, and in its application in particular cases, a differentiation between men and women. The empirical application of the principle in the Factory Acts, at first confined to children, was extended to women much earlier and more completely than it was to men, and the prescriptions often remain, to this day, different in their details for men and women respectively. The legal limitation of the hours of labour was long supposed not to be applicable to adult men; though its enactment did, in fact, frequently limit their working hours. But in certain great industries (notably coal-mining and the railway service) the hours of work of men have now been compulsorily brought down far below those still legally prescribed for factory women. With regard to wages, the "particulars clause" and the provision for accidents apply equally to men and women; but in the amount of the legally secured wage there is still a marked difference between the minimum rates for men and women as such, whether in the determinations of the Trade Boards or in those of the Agricultural Wages Board, the sums secured to women being usually from five-eighths to three-fourths of those secured to men. In fact, although legal enactment has been extended to the hours and wages of men as well as to those of women, there is still maintained a tradition that factory legislation should be more elaborate and more restrictive in the case of women and young persons than in the case of adult men. Thus, the limitations on the length of the normal day and on overtime, the prohibition to work at night and on Sundays apply to women and girls only; whilst females are not allowed to work underground in mines and in certain processes involving the use of lead and other poisonous materials. Women are not permitted to be employed within four weeks after giving birth to a child. Moreover, the extensive movement inaugurated by the Ministry of Munitions for providing social welfare workers and insisting on extra accommodation and provision for sanitation, rest

and medical treatment, have been so far applied almost exclusively to women and young persons. This movement has undoubtedly increased the cost of women's labour to the employer and, in some cases, to the taxpayer. It has introduced a new tone into the factories and a new type of authority, which have, as yet, not been extended to factories and workshops employing only adult men.

C.—THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND OF THE OCCUPATIONAL RATE LEADING, UNDER EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES, TO A MALE RATE AND A FEMALE RATE.

The application of the Policy of the National Minimum to Wages came very late. The spontaneous reaction against the results of the unfettered operation of "Individual Bargaining" in the "higgling of the market" has been association among the wage-earners with a view to the substitution of collective bargaining, and the determination of common minimum conditions of employment applicable to all the persons employed in particular grades or at particular tasks. The object always is to exclude, from influence on the terms of the wage contract *of the other operatives*, the exceptional characteristics of individuals among them—whether in the nature of superiority or inferiority, as measured by needs, by capacity for bargaining or by industrial efficiency. In this way is evolved the idea of the standard rate, the normal day and prescribed conditions of sanitation, safety and amenity of work, below which no individual employer and no individual wage-earner may descend. The influence of competition, and that of "supply and demand," are not eliminated, but instead of operating directly on the terms of service of the individual, they operate only on the common minimum conditions of the task, grade or craft as a whole. This gives, for each of these, what may be called the occupational or standard rate.*

We find in existence over the greater part of the world of production, including many kinds and grades of brainworkers, a series of occupational rates, recognised as the minima to be paid to any persons undertaking the several kinds of work. These occupational or standard rates are determined irrespective of the qualifications of each particular worker, and they are payable, as minima, to every person chosen for employment at the several tasks. But they are minima only—they prevent less than the standard being paid, but they in no way preclude a larger amount being given for service superior in quantity or quality. And these occupational or standard rates involve no particular method of remuneration. They may be based simply on the working time, with more or less elaboration with regard to overtime, night work, Sunday duty and extra payments for duties of exceptional onerousness or disagreeableness. They may equally take the form of payments proportionate to output—these being always grounded, at bottom, on some implicit standard of daily or weekly earnings—which may be according to a more or less elaborate scale of piece-work rates, or more complicated systems of payment by results, with their own appropriate series of extras, and fortified by guaranteed time wages which must be paid, whatever the output. In both cases they include both the "scale rates" and any advances or additions made by way of percentages or lump sums.

When we pass from the manual workers to the brainworkers, we find the conception of the occupational rate taking slightly different forms.

* The occupational rate takes, of course, many different forms in the various industries. There are, throughout, two principal types, namely (a) payment according to the time spent in the employer's service, and (b) payment according to result measured in output. On this complicated subject information will be found in *Methods of Industrial Remuneration* by D. L. Schloss; *Industrial Democracy* by S. and B. Webb; and *The Payment of Wages: a Study in Payment by Results under the Wage System* by G. D. H. Cole.

We see the same practice of standard rates for particular kinds of work being fixed for the whole of the persons chosen for employment, irrespective of individual capacity or service. Throughout the world of school-teaching, as in the Civil Service of Government Departments and Local Authorities, this occupational rate usually takes the form of salary scales, with periodical increments dependent on length of service and with special chances of promotion to higher grades. The pay and other conditions of the Army and Navy and of our judicial establishment, from the Stipendiary Magistrate up to the Lord Chancellor, afford other examples of standard rates fixed, irrespective of variations in personal capacity or efficiency, for the different occupational grades. In the other professions, new and old, where remuneration is by a series of fees from different clients, there are more or less precisely fixed scales of minimum fees, sometimes varying by grades, irrespective of personal qualifications. Where, as in the medical profession, the number of practitioners remunerated by fixed salary is becoming considerable, we see a standard minimum, below which no qualified practitioner should descend becoming effectively authoritative.

In the realm of manual labour the occupational standard rates are determined, in the main, by the relative economic strength of the employers on the one hand, and the several occupational grades on the other, the struggle being perpetually influenced by the possibility of recourse to alternative grades of labour and alternative processes or products. It is, however, interesting to notice that in neither case is it exclusively the balance of economic power that determines the occupational rate. Political pressure, custom and convention and "established expectations" play a large part. Such social considerations are specially apparent in the remuneration of the professions, and generally among the brain workers. A salary of £500, £1,000 or £5,000 a year, together with proportionate advantages in amenity of work, holidays, &c., will be voted to officials and public servants of such and such kind or grade, very largely because those who fix the sum—themselves usually belonging to the same class or the same service—proceed on the tacit assumption of the amount being what a person of that class ought to have. Considerations of this kind explain, and under present circumstances are held to justify, the innumerable occupational rates that exist above what would be yielded by the higgling of the market, from the builders' labourer's standard rate in London of seventeen pence per hour up to that of the Judge of the High Court of Justice at £5,000 a year.

The determination of wages by the occupational rate operates at present largely to keep down women's wages in relation to men's. For reasons into which we need not here enter, women have so far been unable to make as much use as men of collective bargaining or political pressure, and they have found the balance of power against them.

There are, however, other influences which have tended to lower the occupational rates for women, as compared with those for men. The more or less adjustment of money wages to the cost of living has worked against women. A long tradition has left a vested interest of the male in all the better paid occupations. Moreover, the plea of special family obligations has been used against the women. All this has resulted in a tacit convention that there is throughout industry a male rate and a female rate.

D.—THE PRINCIPLE OF ADJUSTING MONEY WAGES TO COST OF LIVING.

The practice of adjusting money wages to the cost of living seems a necessary adjunct of the principle of the national minimum and the principle of the occupational rate, seeing that the very object of a legal

minimum wage and an occupational rate is the maintenance of a given standard of life, which is dependent on the amount of commodities and services for which the money wage is exchanged. But the employers as a class have never admitted this assumption. On the contrary, they have frequently asserted that a rise in the cost of living affects all classes proportionately, and that the working class must suffer their share of any depreciation of the currency. The scarcity of labour during the war and the strong strategic position of the organised workers has enabled the Trade Unions to compel both the Government and the employers to recognise that wages must be measured in terms of commodities: although it is only the powerfully organised trades that have succeeded in getting this principle completely applied. It is interesting to note, in the Awards of the Committee on Production and of other Government Tribunals set up during the war, what an extraordinary diversity was shown in the application of this apparently simple device for maintaining the level of real wages. Sometimes the Courts of Arbitration or individual arbitrators have awarded an advance strictly in proportion to earnings, so that the higher paid men have got a larger addition per week than the low paid men. In other cases they have awarded a flat rate of advance of so much per day or per week, identical for all classes of operatives. In yet other cases they have granted larger additions to the lowly paid than to the highly paid operatives. But the one almost invariable feature of all these awards is that the women wage-earners have come off worse than the men.* Women, indeed, have sometimes been wholly ignored in the award. Thus, the principle of translating money wages into real wages, which has been so generally adopted during the war, has in itself adversely affected the wages of women in relation to

* The Award frequently took the form of a percentage advance, as in the case of the Hosiery Trades of Leicester, Nottingham and Ilkeston when the Committee awarded a war bonus of 5d. in the 1s. to men and women alike. (*Committee on Production and Special Arbitration Tribunal Awards*: Vol. IV, No. 1645). Many of the Trade Unions, however, objected that a percentage advance was unfair as it meant "so much more to the higher paid man," and contended that "after all the man with the higher salary does not have to pay more for his butter than the man with the low salary;" and in March, 1917, the Committee decided in favour of a consolidated national award of a flat advance for all workers in the engineering and foundry trades, whether skilled or unskilled, time or pieceworkers. (*Committee on Production Findings* (March, 1915—May, 1917), No. 689). This, however, was confined entirely to men, the women being dealt with by the Special Arbitration Tribunal for Women's Wages. The awards almost invariably gave to women a smaller advance than to men: a typical instance is that of the Sheffield Cutlery Workers in which case women aged 20 years and over were entitled to a war bonus 6s. 6d. but subject to a maximum inclusive rate of 23s. The men were entitled, on the other hand, to an unconditional advance of 47½ to 52½ per cent. (*Committee on Production and Special Arbitration Tribunal Awards*: Vol. IV, No. 1333). We have discovered only one case—the award given to the Woollen and Worsted Trades—entitling the women on piecework to a higher percentage advance than the men (presumably on account of their lower piecework rates) viz., 51 per cent. as against 48 per cent.: but no differentiation was made between men and women engaged on timework. (*Ibid.* Vol. II, No. 418). A new departure was made in giving advances not of a percentage on earnings, but in proportion to the lowness of the wage. This principle was adopted mainly by Local Authorities and seldom agreed to by the workers except the general labour unions, and even they opposed the policy of an income limit so far as concerned their own members, and an example of the application of this principle is that of the clerks employed by the Manchester Corporation to whom the Committee on Production awarded (*Ibid.* No. 1499) the following scale of increases:—

- (1) Male employees earning from £150 to £300 a year, from 6s. 6d. to 9s. 6d.
- (2) Male employees, 18 years and over, earning less than £150 a year from 9s. to 12s.
- (3) Female employees earning from £150 to £500 a year, from 4s. 6d. to 7s. 6d.
- (4) Female employees, 18 years and over, earning less than £150 a year, from 6s. to 9s.

Later advances and awards, however, modified this principle, whilst they increased the difference between the wages of one sex and the other.

those of men. We have been unable to discover any intelligent explanation of this treatment of women. Sometimes it is said that the rise in the cost of living does not bear so hardly on women as on men, because they live at home, have no dependents to support, and are, in fact, "pocket-money workers." But these factors, whether justifiably so or not, were already reflected in their money wages, causing them to be so much lower than those of men. When the fifteen or five-and-twenty shillings earnings of the women, equally with the thirty or fifty shillings earnings of the men, came to be paid in what was virtually depreciated currency, every one of the smaller number of shillings paid to the women had its purchasing power lessened in exactly the same proportion as each of the more numerous shillings of the men. Whatever she did with her scanty shillings before the alteration in prices, she found just the same proportionate shortage as the men did. Yet only very rarely was the woman allowed, in respect of the rise in the cost of living, the same percentage increase. We can only infer that what underlay the divergent awards and decisions was an unspoken feeling that "the women were getting too much"; and advantage was taken of their imperfect organisation and their greater docility to deny them any systematic equivalent for the depreciation of the currency in which they were paid.

It is desirable to remember that it was principally this unexplained equality in the treatment of women and men with regard to advances in respect of the cost of living that led to the widespread "labour unrest" among the women workers. In the case of women employed on men's work, the Government refusal to give women the men's advances was, as shown elsewhere, a clear breach of the Treasury Agreement of 19th March, 1915.

E.—THE PRINCIPLE OF DETERMINING WAGES BY FAMILY OBLIGATIONS.

Very rarely do we find any "allowance for dependents" in the wages of industrial enterprise.* The obstacles in the way of any general adop-

* During the war the Committee on Production made awards including allowances for dependents in the case of three firms employing the Swansea Copper Workers. These three firms had instituted the following scale of war bonuses:

- "(1) Married men or householders (with dependents) earning below 30s. a week; 3s. a week.
- (2) Single men (without dependents) earning below 30s. a week; 1s. 6d. a week.
- (3) Married men or householders (with dependents) earning 30s. a week and upwards; 2s. a week.
- (4) Single men (without dependents) earning 30s. a week and upwards; 1s. a week.
- (5) Youths and boys; 1s. a week.

The bonus was supplementary to the rates of wages of all those earning below 60s. a week."

The first award (May, 1915) followed on the same lines subject only to some slight modifications.

- (1) Married men or householders (with dependents) earning below 60s. per week; 3s. a week
- (2) Single men (without dependents) earning below 60s. per week; 2s. a week.
- (3) Youths and boys; 1s. a week.

This policy was, however, reversed by an Award in January, 1916, making no differentiation between married men and single.

The policy of allowances for dependents was incorporated in the awards granting war bonuses to corporation tramways (Newcastle-on-Tyne, Neath Corporation and others). This provision for dependents was opposed by the Amalgamated Association of Tramway and Vehicle Workers who claimed instead a flat advance. The representative of the workers urged "the necessity to get rid of what we regard as a nasty stigma on the single men, especially in an arbitration award." The workers "do not want to distinguish between the single and the married men. They are giving up their labour energy, and we say that it is not the function of the employer to say what a man's responsibilities are, whether he is single or married." In no case was any provision made for the dependents of the female dilutants.

tion of such a policy by profiteering employers with regard to wages in normal times are sufficiently obvious. But this principle was in 1914 virtually adopted by the Government, as by far the largest employer of labour, for the remuneration of the Army, by the institution of Separation Allowances graduated precisely according to the size of each man's family. The fact that something like half of all the families of the United Kingdom have for the last few years been receiving incomes determined according to the number and ages of the persons to be maintained has made a deep impression. This impression cannot but have been intensified by the action of the Government in December last in adopting, for the first time, the same principle for the State Unemployment Benefit, whether for demobilised soldiers or civilian workers thrown out of work by the cessation of hostilities. In this case the extra allowances for dependent children are made alike to men and women having such dependents. A similar principle was applied during the war in various other kinds of public employment, alike in Government Departments and under Local Authorities—not, indeed, with regard to the whole pay, but with regard to the advances conceded on account of the rise in the cost of living. Thus advances have been granted at different rates to "householders" and to those who were "single men" (all women being excluded from either category). In other cases, so much has been added to the men's wages "for each dependent," the women employees being excluded from this allowance. This method of fixing advances has been largely adopted by Continental municipalities.

Though this principle of determining wages by the extent of the family obligations of the wage-earner has not been adopted, when it is a question of paying more where there are dependents to be kept, either in industry or public employment (except in the cases noted above), it has been frequently used as an argument for keeping down the wages or salaries of women relatively to those of men, even where their work is admitted to be of the same value to the employer. It is habitually pleaded as a complete justification for the existence of a female rate, out of all proportion lower than the male rate for analogous occupations or jobs, that the man's wage covers the maintenance of a family, whereas the woman has only herself to keep. Even when the employer is getting the same output and the same value from women as from men, he has usually seen no impropriety in paying the women, as a customary female rate, two-thirds of what he paid to the men for the same work, as a customary male rate. We have even had this principle of family obligations given the consecration of adoption, as an excuse for unequal wages, by an authoritative Government Committee. In the profession of teaching, we are complacently told, women "almost invariably receive lower salaries than those paid to men of similar qualifications and the same standing in the service of the same authority . . . their duties are similar if not identical; and"—as the Departmental Committee adds—"we are satisfied that the work of women, taking the schools as a whole, is as arduous as that of men and is not less zealously and efficiently done."* These lower scales for women's work are defended on the plea that a "man teacher looks forward to maintaining a wife and family on what he earns, whilst many women enter the teaching service with no intention of remaining there for life, regarding it as a profitable and interesting occupation until marriage." Thus, any adoption of the principle of family obligations in the wages of industry mili-

* Report of Departmental Committee on Teachers in Elementary Schools (Cd. 8939) pp. 8-9.

tates against the woman, because it is always taken for granted (even when the worker is a widow with dependent children) that women have no family obligations!

F.—THE PRINCIPLE OF THE VESTED INTEREST OF THE MALE.

The long-continued exclusion of women from nearly all the better-paid occupations has been largely the result of the assumption that these occupations were the sacred preserve of men. It is only within the last couple of centuries that women have—apart from a few exceptional cases—appeared as the earners of wages or salaries, either in industry or in the brain-working professions or, indeed, in any other capacity than that of domestic servant, or that of attendant or assistant of the man who was often related to them. They are still excluded from a great part of the field. By law, or by administrative action grounded in law, or by the practice of professional associations upheld by the Court, women are still definitely excluded from all branches of the legal profession, from the religious ministry, and from civil and mechanical engineering. With insignificant exceptions they are, to say the least, not encouraged in the professions of the architect, the actuary, the public accountant, the chemist and the pharmacist; and they are not admitted to the regular grades of the Civil Service, whether Class I or Second Division, or in the ranks of the Inland Revenue, and the Customs and Excise, whilst in the rapidly-growing inspectorate they are debarred from all the better-paid posts. Though they have come to constitute nearly two-thirds of the teaching profession, they are still largely excluded from the University professoriate, and they are debarred, except in a very few cases, from the headships of colleges, institutes and schools admitting students of either sex and, indeed, sometimes from those admitting only female pupils.

Throughout the whole realm of manual labour the women have found equally closed against them, prior to the war, the occupations which had gained a relatively high occupational rate, together with the opportunities for training which might have enabled them to prove their competence and aptitude for the work. As in the brain-working occupations, the vested interest of the male had always to be protected against new rivals of the other sex. Towards the close of the 18th Century the Industrial Revolution permitted the new capitalist employers to increase considerably the number of independent women wage-earners; and the art of weaving by the power-loom fell very largely into their hands. Normally, however, they were employed in subordinate capacities as cheap labourers at unskilled tasks. The men in the workshop saw no reason for allowing any women to learn a skilled craft; and right down to the present century it was rare to find any woman, however competent (outside the cotton weavers and a few waistcoat-makers, embroiderers and other specialised needleworkers), admitted to any industrial occupation at which she could earn more than the lowest grade of unskilled male labourers.

It must be said by way of explanation that, in the manual working occupations, the employers were always seeking to bring in the women, not merely to augment the number of trained and competent operatives, but with the object and purpose of reducing the occupational rate; and the proposal was seldom made to the men's Trade Unions of opening the craft to women on the basis of giving them the same wages as the men. It must be added that the London Society of Compositors, which long resisted the introduction of women to the skilled craft of the

compositor, has, for a quarter of a century, thrown open its membership to women on the same terms as men, namely, that they should be earning the standard rate, either at 'stab (time) or piece-work, and a few women have thus gained admission. What is more usual is for the women to be made use of in alternative processes at a lower rate of pay (as in cotton-spinning by the ring-frame, which is an alternative to the exclusively male craft of mule-spinning). In other cases there has been a "degradation of the job" by subdivision of processes or some new arrangement of machinery, often by some application of team work, which has permitted an encroachment on the "man's job" at the "woman's rate."

But, apart from any influence on the men's rate of wages, the introduction of women into the factory or workshop heretofore employing men only was felt to result in a differentiation of the work in such a way as to throw upon the men all the specially onerous, specially unhealthy, or specially disagreeable tasks. Where there is night work the men have to do it all.*

The outcome, down to the war, was a very general segregation of men and women in industry, the two sexes being very seldom employed on the same kinds of work, or in the production of exactly the same articles. Whether the segregation of the sexes in industry was influenced by custom and convention, or determined by relative aptitude, its result upon wages was to give rise to markedly different rates of remuneration for what was recognised as a "man's job" and what as a "woman's job." We had, accordingly, over by far the greater part of the industrial field, a "man's rate" or customary standard of wages for occupations of different degrees of onerousness or of skill, contrasted with a "woman's rate" of wages for occupations of no less varying character, according as these different tasks had commonly been relegated to one sex or the other. It must be said that these markedly contrasted "men's rates" and "women's rates" bore no definite proportion to the physiological or mental expenditure of the workers of the two sexes in their several tasks, whether measured by their "efforts and sacrifices," or merely by time. Nor does it appear that the several rates were propor-

* Thus, we are told by the representatives of the National Leather Trades Employers' Federation that "The coming in of the females, that is the mixing of male and female labour is likely to be a menace instead of assistance to efficiency and that is one of the things which we need to safeguard. . . . There is not the same measure of efficiency and yet it is difficult to define where the line of demarcation really comes in. We could not consent to a female being paid less than a male because in some sections of the industry she is efficient. It is no use denying that. But it is the section of the industry that men have a perfect right to have in order to help them to make the more difficult part, and perhaps the least paid, pay them. It does not work to give the females the easiest and best paid work, and let the men have the heavier and worst-paid, but take the two together and put them through. If the female could take a share of all it might be different. These are all things which we have to safeguard. We must safeguard them without any prejudice against a female as a female." (Shorthand Notes of Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee, 6-12-18 p. 57.) This view was also taken by the representative of the Soap and Candle Trades Employers' Federation: "The men have told us where women are employed—in this case I have mentioned to you about the warehouse—the gang was paid on production bonus; they had a guaranteed wage and a production bonus in addition, and when it came to the time for the women—we put the women there for two or three months to get accustomed to the work before we put them on production bonus—when it came to sharing out, the men said, 'No, this is coming out of our pockets, because we are having all the hard work to do, and we will not work with women. If we have to work along with these women we are only going to do the same work as the women are doing, or the women have got to do the same work as we are doing. We must have it one way or the other. We are not going to do the heavy work and let them share our bonus. Of course it was pooled.'" (Ibid. 12-11-16.)

tionate to the value of their service to the capitalist employer or to the manager for the municipality. There is, indeed, no way (except that of its price in the market) by which the relative value to the community of the service, respectively, of men and women teachers—to take one example—can be computed. In the same way we see no manner in which the relative value could be computed either to the capitalist employer or to the community, of such contrasted services as the continuous delicate sorting or gauging or adjusting of minute components, which experience shows to be more efficiently done by women than by men, and the shifting of pig-iron in the yard, for which the brute force of men of great strength is indispensable.

We have, accordingly, as the result of all these influences, the exclusion of the whole class of women, as such, from the professions or occupations in which the occupational rate is relatively high, and from the training qualifying for the work, so that not even those individuals among them who might have proved their competence have been permitted to enter these favoured occupations. In addition, the influence of habit and custom, and "established expectations" have all combined both to relegate women to the less advantageously situated occupations, and to fix the occupational rates of "women's trades" at a distance below the occupational rates of "men's trades," which bears no assignable relation either to the efforts and sacrifices of the two sexes, or to their output or value to the employer, or to their productiveness to the community.

G.—THE PRINCIPLE OF A DEFINITE QUALIFICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT.

We have to notice the growing adoption, alongside the spread of the conception of an authoritative standard rate for each vocation, of the principle of making employment conditional on the possession of a specific technical qualification for the calling. We see this coming to be fully recognised in the brainworking professions, the prescribed qualifications for the medical and legal professions being now extensively followed by analogous requirements in teaching, engineering, architecture, accountancy, &c. There are signs that the practice of the National Civil Service in making entrance dependent on success in examinations will be followed by the Local Authorities, a beginning having been made in such branches as Sanitary Inspection, Nursing and Midwifery. We see the same tendency in such industrial vocations as plumbing, mining, and the working of engines, where certificates of competency are coming to be required. The ground on which this closing of occupations to any but specifically qualified persons has been justified is the public interest in ensuring that the persons employed shall have attained at least a prescribed minimum of efficiency. The requirement of a qualification prevents the employer from selecting, for any vacancy, a candidate of lower grade, however cheaply he might be able to obtain his services. The requirement also checks favoritism and jobbery in filling appointments, whether in capitalist enterprise or under public authorities. Speaking generally, the tendency is to prevent competition for employment on the part of the candidates below the prescribed line, and thus incidentally to maintain the Occupational Rate; and to concentrate all the influence of competition upon the quality of the service to be rendered. The Trade Unions desire an extension of this principle. They have made various requests for a legal requirement of specific technical qualifications in particular occupations. What is more important is the confirmation which the same principle gives to their

insistence that employment in the occupations for which they demand a standard rate should be restricted to "fully qualified" candidates, by which they mean candidates who have entered the trade through the recognised avenues, which may often include the prolonged apprenticeship which is falling into disuse, and for which no generally accepted substitute has yet been found. This has undoubtedly had an adverse effect upon the wages of women, because it has been bound up with the Vested Interest of the Male.

H.—THE FORMULA OF EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

We have still to mention what is, at the moment, the most fashionable formula on which it is assumed that the relation of men's and women's wages should be determined, namely, that of "Equal Pay for Equal Work." This can hardly be said to be an accepted principle, because there is no common interpretation of its meaning. In one sense "Equal Pay for Equal Work" has reference to the physiological and mental results to the operative, and implies a differentiation of wages according to the efforts and sacrifices that the work involves to the human beings concerned. These, however, we have not yet learned how to measure with any accuracy, apart from the time which the wage-earner has to place at the disposal of the employer and the character of the work performed. To the manual worker this giving up of a definite part of his daily life at a particular task seems the main factor, and this justifies to him the time rate for each particular occupation. To quote the evidence of one of the representatives of the National Union of General Workers, "the price of a job should be fixed, not upon the basis of the sex or the individual doing the job, but it should be established upon the basis of the job itself, that whoever does the work should receive the price that custom and Trade Union method has established as the price of the particular class of work." It is interesting to note that a like conception practically governs the determination of the methods of remuneration of many classes of salaried brainworkers. The quantity and quality of the services rendered by individuals in the different grades of the Civil Service, by general managers of banks and railway companies, by judges, and, be it added, by Cabinet Ministers, varies enormously; but it has never been suggested that there should be any variation from the scales of salaries voted by Parliament or established by custom according to the merit of the different individuals of each vocation or grade.

In respect of the wages of the manual workers the more popular interpretation of "Equal Pay for Equal Work" has reference to the quantity and quality of the product, irrespective of the effect upon the several operatives, or of the net value of the service to the employer. The product can, in some industries, be measured with sufficient accuracy to enable it to be made the basis of wage-determination, whether payment be made simply "by the piece" or by some other system of wages in proportion to results. In the most highly organised industry in which women are extensively employed on the same processes as men, (*i.e.*, cotton-weaving), this method of remuneration is embodied in standing Lists of Piecework Prices determined by collective bargaining and interpreted in detail by the expert officials of the Employers' Association and the Trade Union. These piecework lists become, in fact, the occupational rate enforced on all establishments. The success of this method of remuneration in a powerfully organised trade has led to the assump-

tion that "Equal Pay for Equal Work" should mean equal piecework rates (as distinguished from equal time rates) for both sexes.*

This commonsense interpretation of "equal pay for equal work" does, however, not meet with the approval of the employers in many industries. They urge that the wages of the workshop are not the only elements in the expenses of production; and commodities paid for by equal workshop wages may stand at very different costs in the enterprise as a whole, according to their different demands in the way of time and space, involving greater or less "overhead charges" for rent and repairs, lighting and heating, superintendence, and other expenses incidental to a factory staff, interest on cost of machinery and its annual maintenance or renewal. "Supposing you were going to employ nothing but women," we are told by the representative of the United Tanners' Federation, "I should say that could be only if the wages are lower, for two or three reasons. One, that you would have to have at least one-third more plant and machinery; you would have to have one-third more period or time when you had to keep that plant and machinery running; you could not get the same output from the same area, the same plant, the same machinery, if you employed female labour entirely; therefore the cost of the final article would have to be greater. But we should not object in the very least, in fact we welcome and hope to employ female labour to such an extent that the cost of production is not increased as against the employment of male labour; but one must take into consideration, as I said before, the large amount of plant, the large amount of coal that would have to be used, the larger premises, and all that sort of thing. That would go on to your on-cost and increase the cost of your production. Therefore female labour, from the very fact that it takes three to take the place of two men, and those three have to be warehoused in the premises—I do not mean domestically housed—could not expect to get exactly the same." Thus, "Equal Pay for Equal Work" comes to mean, in the mind of the capitalist employer or the manager for the municipality, "Equal Wages for Equal Value"; and we have claims that even the piecework rates for identical articles should vary according to the different percentages of "overhead charges" that particular classes of operatives are said to involve. "If the women are paid the same piece rates after the war as the men," remarked the above witness, "they will be ousted from the factories because their output is practically one-third less . . . their trade unions having refused to let women work under the piece rates of the men. . . . But some of the factories have kept their women entirely on day work or almost entirely on day work, in order to obviate this question of piece

* It is important to realize that any satisfactory application of the principle of equal piecework rates for both sexes depends on powerful organisation. In the woollen and worsted trades no such equality has been maintained. Thus, we are told by the Woollen and Worsted Trades' Federation that "In weaving, the conditions of competition in Huddersfield where it was almost entirely confined, were that wages for men and women in Woollen and Worsted were supposed to be paid on what is known as the '1883 Scale.' Had the scale been strictly adhered to, the piecework prices for men and women would have been as 100 to 85 approximately. In other words the scale prices for men are about 17 per cent. above those for women. In actual practice, however, while the women's scale was almost generally observed men were paid in some cases on the men's scale, in others at one penny in the shilling on the women's scale; in others at one penny per 'string' over the women's scale (a varying proportion). Probably the best estimate which can be made of the average relative levels of piece-rate prices of men and women in Huddersfield in pre-war days is that the men were paid 10 per cent. more than women." (Memorandum submitted to the War Cabinet Committee by the Woollen and Worsted Trades' Federation 1918.)

prices cropping up. . . . It is absolutely a trade that women could work in and could easily work if they were put to it.*

Another reason is given by the employers for a lower rate of payment even on piecework to women than to men. "A woman," it is asserted, "has not the same potential value as a man; she may do a particular job as well and even better than a man, but she cannot be taken off that job and put on to something else either on the ground of emergency or to fill up her time." "Equal pay should not be given to men and women engaged on the same or similar work," we were told by a representative of the Cycle and Motor Industry, "it is a question of comparative total efficiency, *i.e.*, a woman punching a ticket on a tramcar may appear to be equal to a man. She, however, has not the same potential value, and would not be so useful as a man in the case of emergency, such as a breakdown, runaway, row, &c."† The General Manager of the Great Western Railway, as an excuse for giving women a much lower rate than men, stated that "The experience gained showed that as typists and telegraphists the women were practically the equal of male clerks of similar age and experience. They were not so valuable to the company, however, by reason of the greater use to which men could be put in connection with duties outside the immediate sphere in which the individual was employed."‡

But what, as a matter of fact, has stood in the way of the acceptance of the principle of "Equal Pay for Equal Work," is not the ambiguity of the phrase, but the ease with which its honest application, whatever it may be taken to mean, can be evaded or dodged. Even when the commonsense interpretation is accepted, of "Equal Pay for Equal Output," it is, as the preceding example shows, evaded by the simple expedient of not allowing the women to be paid by results at all, and thus keeping them to a "woman's rate" for timework. But the dodging more often takes a subtler form. It is extremely rare, in industry, to find men and women performing exactly the same operations, making identical things by the same processes, or doing the whole of each other's jobs. Even where women are substituted for men, there is, practically always, some alteration in the process, or in the machinery employed, or in the arrangement of the tasks of the operatives, or in the way in which the labour is divided, which permits the employer to contend that the work done by the women is not the same as that previously done by the men, and which accordingly as he thinks, warrants him in fixing the women's remuneration, whether by time or on systems of payment by results, at rates substantially lower than those of the men. If an employer is in some way required to give "Equal Pay for Equal Work," he habitually takes care to make some change in the work, so as to escape from the obligation. The Post Office has, it is alleged, on more than one occasion, deliberately "degraded" the tasks at which women clerks are employed, in order to prevent a claim to the men's remuneration.

* This evidence that employers, in order to evade "Equal Pay for Equal Work", kept the women on time rates, is an interesting commentary on the working of L. 2, as the embodiment of the Treasury Agreement. The same evasion of the Government pledge seems to have taken place in the Pottery Trade. The representative of the Amalgamated Society of Male and Female Pottery Workers asserting that "women dippers have largely entered the trade as substitutes for men who have joined up, and in some instances are receiving the same rates as formerly paid to men. In many other cases the women have been either put on time rates or greatly reduced piece rates."

† Summaries of evidence to the War Cabinet Committee, 1918, p. 221.

‡ Shorthand Notes of Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee, 9.12.18.

I.—THE PRINCIPLE OF LIMITING WAGES BY FOREIGN COMPETITION.

There is still another principle according to which it is claimed that wages are, and ought to be determined, namely, that of Foreign Competition. It has been urged upon us that the wages of the manual workers in British industries must necessarily be limited by those paid to the manual workers in the same industries in other countries, because otherwise the employers in those countries will be able to sell their wares at lower prices than British employers, and so prevent these from developing their export trade, or possibly even their sales for home consumption. This principle applies, as will be seen, both to the wages of men and to those of women. But it has been used also as an argument in favour of the restriction of women's wages to an exceptional low rate, on the plea that unless the employer was able to get the commodities made by specially "cheap labour"—which is assumed always to be obtainable only from women—the export trade could not be carried on.

The principle of determining the rates of wages by reference to foreign competition is not, so far as we are aware, applied with any statistical precision with reference to the rates actually paid in other countries. It has, for instance, never been made the ground for increasing the rates of wages in this country to such classes and grades of workers as have received higher rates or better conditions in the United States or Germany, Australia or New Zealand. The extra profit accruing to the employers by reason of a lower cost of labour in this country than in some others is not brought into the account. Nor is the principle, when closely examined, one relating to the relative level of wages at all. What is urged is that unless the rate of wages in this or that occupation is restricted to a low maximum, the industry cannot be carried on at a profit in competition with employers in other countries, who can apparently sell at lower prices. Thus the argument for keeping wages down in this country is irrespective of whether the power of the foreign employer to sell at lower prices is the effect of relatively low rates of wages; high productivity; superiority in natural advantage, plant and equipment; skill in management, or willingness to accept a lower rate of profit. The plea for permission to employ "cheap labour" is equally made when what the employer is afraid of is the highly paid skilled labour of the United States, or the exceptional natural resources of Argentina, or the specially elaborate scientific organisation of German industry, or the low wages of India or Japan. It comes, in fact, to nothing more than the desire of every employer affected by commercial competition to cut down expenses wherever he most easily can.

J.—THE DEVICE OF PROFIT-SHARING.

We think it is unnecessary to describe the device of making some addition to wages according to the profits of an individual firm, or even according to those of the industry as a whole. The profit-sharing schemes adopted by individual firms on all sorts of bases, and yielding very different results in increments to the normal wages are always coming and going, without (except in gas companies) showing any sign of general adoption. But besides schemes of profit-sharing in particular establishments, we have the same device either applied or proposed to be applied collectively to the operatives in a particular industry. One embodiment of this principle is the sliding scale by which wages in the iron and steel trade rise and fall according to the selling price of the product, which is taken as a rough index of the average profitableness of the industry for the time being. Apart, however, from these sliding scales arrived at by the representatives of the employers and employed we

have informal agreements between the representatives of the employers and the workers to raise or lower wages upon the basis of selling prices, or sometimes according to the margin between the price of the raw material and that of the finished product. More recently ambitious and elaborate schemes have been put forward by the employers in particular industries—notably in coal-mining—to take the Trade Union into partnership and even to accord to its representatives seats on a Joint Board, with a view to the workers as a whole participating in the aggregate net profits of the industry, after payment of a prescribed rate of interest on the entire nominal capitalisation; the figures being taken by an independent public accountant from the books of the several employers, and the result given only for the industry as a whole.

Schemes of profit-sharing may apply equally to men and women. But I have to point out that they increase the inequality between men's and women's wages. The percentage added to wages usually varies according to the grade of operative, or even where this is not the case, yields a larger increment to the highly paid than the lowly-paid grades. Thus the women are, in their character of lowly-paid workers, at a disadvantage compared with the men, exactly as the unskilled male operatives are at a disadvantage compared with the skilled male operatives.

THE CHAOS PRODUCED BY THE WAR.

The widespread dislocation of industry produced by the war, together with the suspension of collective bargaining and factory regulations involved in the Government requirements, and the abrogation of Trade Union conditions in return for the Government pledges contained in the Treasury Agreement of March, 1915, with the subsequent alterations of wages by Government fiat under stress of circumstances, have produced an indescribable chaos in the Labour Market. The wages of women, in particular, vary from less than a pound a week—a rate still being paid, notwithstanding the doubling of the cost of living since 1914 in various parts of the country to many thousands of women—up to six or occasionally even ten times as much, the variations corresponding neither with the cost of living, the efforts and sacrifices, the value to the employer nor the service to the community. Many of the variations are merely the unforeseen result of the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the various "War Pledges" made without comprehension of their effect in practice. The standard rates for "men's jobs" have advanced with much less unevenness than women's wages, so that there cannot nowadays be said to be any definite ratio between the earnings of men and women respectively. The ground is accordingly clear for a systematic reconsideration of the problem.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINCIPLES TO BE REJECTED AND THE PRINCIPLES TO BE RECOMMENDED.

The selection of one principle on which to determine the relation of men's and women's wages rather than another must necessarily depend, in great measure, on the kind of society we wish to bring about. What is important is to have clearly in view what social conditions we are aiming at. We must, of course, take fully into consideration what, in the present stage of social development is economically practicable; and not less what are likely to be the reactions—economic, social and political—of any proposals. But our judgment

upon these proposals will depend, primarily, on underlying assumptions as to what we desire to produce. It is accordingly important, for clearness of thought, that these assumptions should be definitely chosen and explicitly postulated. I make the following assumptions.

The first requirement of a civilised community is the maintenance of the whole population at the highest Standard of Life that the community's knowledge and its command over natural resources make practicable. It is by success in achieving this result that governments must be judged. The Standard of Life involves, of course, a continuity of subsistence; but it includes much more than mere maintenance, more even than maintenance in health and efficiency. We cannot be satisfied without securing for the whole population, also the greatest practicable measure of freedom, in the sense of the maximum development and satisfaction of individual faculties and desires.

Incidental to this primary requirement rather than second to it, is the obtaining, throughout the whole community, of the maximum production of the commodities and services upon which the standard of life depends; or, to put it more precisely, the most advantageous proportion between the output of commodities and services and the efforts and sacrifices that their production involves.

Moreover, alike in order to make the most of whatever product there is to share, and in order to satisfy the sense of justice, there has admittedly to be a steady approximation to some measure of equivalence between income and the efforts and sacrifices by which income is made.

No less fundamental is the maintenance of the nation, and of its Standard of Life, from generation to generation. Whatever the parents may do, the statesman cannot safely place the requirements of the children, and of succeeding generations, at any lower level than those of the contemporary electorate.

It is in the light of these assumptions that we have to choose among the several principles by which the relation between men's and women's wages may be determined.

1. The Principle of Individual Bargaining must be Rejected.—We see at once that we may dismiss what has been called the principle of there being no principle in the matter, other than that of leaving the whole thing to the higgling of the market, to be settled, case by case, through individual bargaining, according to "Supply and Demand." The inevitability of this resulting in a large morass of "sweating" has been too clearly demonstrated—of the condemnation of a considerable proportion of the producers to "earnings barely sufficient to sustain existence; hours of labour such as to make the lives of the workers periods of almost ceaseless toil, hardened, unlovely to the last degree; sanitary conditions injurious to the health of the persons employed and dangerous to the public." This is now seen to be inconsistent with the maintenance, throughout the existing community, of any decent standard of life. It is, as is hereafter shown, not conducive to obtaining, throughout the whole community, of the maximum production relatively to the efforts and sacrifices of the persons employed. And it is obviously incompatible with the maintenance of the nation, and of its standard of life, from generation to generation. The facts that, over so large a proportion of the whole field, this "principle of there being no principle" has been abandoned by general consent; that every decade sees a further limitation of the area to which it is left to apply; that neither the economists nor the employers, as a class, suggest even a possibility, still less the desirability of reversion; and that the forces of organised labour would fiercely resist any attempt in that direction, enable us to dispense with

any consideration of the alternative of leaving the relation between the wages and salaries of men and women respectively to be settled simply by "Individual Bargaining" and the "higgling of the market." I must take it that, at the present day, the very appointment of a Committee to define a principle is, in itself, the negation of the "principle of there being no principle."

2. The Principle of the National Minimum must be Accepted.—I think it impossible to avoid the conclusion that the prescription, and the resolute enforcement throughout the whole community, of minimum conditions of service, form an indispensable basis of any decent social order. The case for what has been called the National Minimum appears to me to have been now fully demonstrated. We have to assume that it is one of the primary duties of the Legislature and the Executive Government to provide for the prescription; for the periodical adjustment; for the adaptation to particular circumstances of localities and industries; and for the systematic enforcement of such a national minimum, which should include, at least, the fundamental requirements of leisure, sanitation, education and subsistence.

I do not see how it can be argued that this national minimum should be other than equal, and in fact identical, for persons of either sex. Such a legal minimum cannot, in practice, secure more than the needs that are common to human beings as such. It can ensure, as opportunities for rest and recreation, a certain proportion of each twenty-four hours; and I do not suppose that anyone would desire that this proportion should be, as a minimum, smaller for women than for men. It can ensure the provision of a minimum of certain essential requirements of sanitation, safety and amenity alike in the workplace and the dwelling-house; and, here again, no one would contend that the standard should be lower for the female than for the male sex. It can see to it that no one grows to adult age without having had access to the opportunities of acquiring all the education for which he has aptitude or capacity; and girls can hardly be placed on a lower level than boys. We come finally to the requirements that are provided in the form of wages or salary; and here it is often contended that a woman needs less than a man. It is said, for instance, that women, being on an average shorter and smaller than men, require only four-fifths as much food as men. But this result of statistical averages affords, as it seems to me, much less ground for differentiating between the rations of men and women as such, than between human beings over and under five-feet-five in height, or above and below nine stone in weight. In actual practice, however, a national minimum of wages cannot take account of the difference between appetites, or provide accurately for abnormalities at either end of the scale. The wage has to provide for much besides food—for shelter, fuel and light; for whatever standard of clothing the climate and customs of the nation make requisite; for such indispensable items as travelling, insurance and other contributions; for the saving necessary to tide over the "lost time" due to the sickness not covered by insurance, and for holidays; not to mention also books and newspapers, and recreation of one or other kind. I cannot discover that, taking these things together, there is any recognisable difference between the necessary cost of maintenance in health and efficiency of a man of 21 and of a woman of 21. If most women need to spend less on food than most men (though not women of more than average size and physical exertion than men of less than average size and physical exertion), they usually have to pay more than men for lodgings compatible with a life of equal dignity and refinement. Their clothes cost, for an equal effect, more than those of

the men; and more is expected of them. They need to save more than the men for the lost time due to short spells of illness. Their books and newspapers, like their tram rides, are the same to them in price as to the men. So far, I am irresistibly led to the conclusion that the national minimum wage, which the Legislature should secure for all adult workers whilst in employment, cannot be other than identical for both sexes. There remains the item of family obligations, to which I shall recur.

3. The Principle of the Occupational Rate must be Accepted.—The national minimum cannot be other than the basic minimum, below which, in the judgment of the community for the time being, it is nationally inexpedient to allow any human being to descend. It has nothing to do with the proper or desirable remuneration of labour, or with the share of the national income to which any or all of the sections of the wage-earning population may reasonably aspire. Moreover, it includes no provision for the cost of acquiring skill or proficiency of any kind, beyond that common to all human beings; and no payment or remuneration either for such skill or proficiency, or for any standard of life in excess of the national minimum, or other expenses which the performance of special duties or the fulfilment of particular functions may involve. In fact, in any organised and civilised society, the continued existence of persons receiving no more than the national minimum, equipped with no more than universal training, possessing no specialised skill, and fulfilling no specific function, ought to become steadily more exceptional. The sphere of the occupational or standard rate will, in fact, in any progressive society, become continually more extensive.

We have, therefore, to recognise the necessity of the principle of the occupational or standard rate, which, as has been described, already prevails throughout the greater part of the world of production, alike of commodities and services. How much in excess of the national minimum the occupational rate should be depends on the circumstances and requirement of each occupation. It is obvious that, with freedom of choice of vocations, the inducements offered for any tasks requiring more than common skill, or more than the training which is universal—and likewise for any tasks that are, in fact, exceptionally repellant, from whatever cause—whether or not these inducements take the form of additional payment—must be sufficient to attract the staff of persons required for their performance. To the prescribed national minimum there has accordingly to be added, for each such occupation, what we may call a supplement for scarcity. In the same way, the fulfilment of particular functions in the manner desired may involve personal habits and a method of life more costly than the standard prescribed as the universal minimum. To the prescribed national minimum there has accordingly to be added, in such cases, what we may call a supplement for the necessary expenses of the professional status. What is not so immediately obvious is why there needs to be, for each occupational grade—not individual bargaining and the distinctive payment of each individual “according,” as it is said, “to his merits”—but a common standard rate.

The argument in favour of a common standard rate as a minimum for each occupational grade, instead of leaving each person's pay to be settled by the higgling of the market, through individual bargaining is much the same as that in favour of the national minimum, only stronger. The person to be engaged, who is normally in a much weaker economic position than the employer or the authority from whom he

seeks employment, is protected, by the existence of a common standard rate, from being taken advantage of. He may be in urgent need; his wife and family may be in distress; he may be an exceptionally quick worker, and able to make a living at a piecework rate at which other men would starve—all these and many other influences would (and constantly do) operate through the higgling of the market, in the absence of an authoritative standard minimum, to degrade the conditions of employment, below what the same relative "supply and demand" would produce with effective collective bargaining. The existence of common standard conditions, which can be insisted on as a minimum, is, in short, indispensable to collective bargaining; and collective bargaining is, in the judgment of organised labour, which the economists are no longer prepared to deny, a necessary defence against a degradation of the existing occupational rates considerably below their present level.

It might be thought that where, as in the national and municipal Civil Service, the employment is under a public authority, not working for profit, there would be less need, if any, for authoritative standard rates applicable, as minima, irrespective of individual qualifications. This is not the case. It is found by experience, not only convenient to the administration, but also necessary to the persons employed, to adopt standard salary scales and increments, not merely to prevent advantage being taken of individual weakness in bargaining, but also to prevent both unfair favoritism and the widespread suspicion of its baleful influence.

There are, however, other reasons for an occupational rate, instead of payments settled by individual bargaining, which are applicable both to manual workers and to brainworkers. The effect of the resolute enforcement throughout each occupational grade, of a common standard minimum, instead of paying each employee "according," as the employer says, "to his merits," is to concentrate all the strength of the competition for employment upon efficiency, and continuously to raise the average level. If the employer is compelled to pay the standard rate as a minimum to every person whom he engages, he will be continually seeking to pick, for the common price, the most efficient worker. If, on the other hand, the employer is free to offer less than the standard to anyone whom he can induce to accept this lower wage, it may very often pay him to select for each vacancy, not the most efficient candidate, but a less skilled, a less sober, a less well-trained, or a less industrious worker, provided that he can hire him at a more than proportionate reduction on the standard rate. Thus, there can be no doubt that, in occupations in which a standard rate is effectively maintained, the persons who are at any moment in employment tend always to be the pick of the available workers; whilst those who constitute the fringe of the habitually or frequently "out of works" are, for one or other reason, the relatively inefficient. The enforcement of a standard minimum makes, accordingly, for maximum production (measured in commodities or services). Where there is no standard rate, the selection may be quite the other way. Those in employment at any one time will include "the lame, the halt and the blind;" the physically, mentally and morally deficient; the industrially apathetic or servile; the weaklings and the drunkards—each individually taken on at a wage at which his less efficient labour has seemed actually cheaper to the employer than that of the fully efficient worker at the standard rate. The aggregate output of commodities and services (though not necessarily the profits of the employer) will, therefore, always be lower

in proportion to the number of persons employed and to the efforts and sacrifices involved, in occupations in which there is no standard rate, and where wages are left, through individual bargaining, to the higgling of the market, than in those in which a standard rate is effectively enforced

The remarkable effect of standard conditions of employment on the productivity of industry is not limited to increased efficiency in the selection of the workers and the stimulus to their progressive improvement; it has a like effect on the brains of the entrepreneur and on the selection and improvement of the machines and processes. When all the employers in a trade find themselves precluded, by the existence of a common rule, from worsening the conditions of employment—when, for instance, they are legally prohibited from crowding more operatives into their mills or keeping them at work for longer hours, or when they find it impossible, owing to a strictly enforced piecework list, to nibble at wages—they are driven, in their competitive struggle with each other, to seek advantage in other ways. We arrive, therefore, at the unexpected result that the insistence by the trade union on uniform conditions of employment positively stimulates the invention and adoption of new processes of manufacture. "Mankind," says Emerson, "is as lazy as it dares to be," and so long as an employer can meet the pressure of the wholesale trader, or of foreign competition, by nibbling at wages or "cribbing time," he is not likely to undertake the "intolerable toil of thought," that would be required to discover a genuine improvement in the productive process. Besides this direct effect in stimulating all the employers, the mere existence of the common rule has another and even more important result on the efficiency of industry, in that it is always tending to drive business into those establishments which are most favourably situated, best equipped, and managed with the greatest ability; and to eliminate the incompetent or old-fashioned employer. And this is no mere theory. It is, as every student of industrial history knows, abundantly illustrated in the story of the Lancashire cotton industry.*

Finally, from the standpoint of the status of the worker in industry, there is an imperative reason for the common rule. The occupational rate, or rather, the existence of common standard conditions alike in pay and in the other terms of employment, is found by experience to afford practically the only available lever by which the workers concerned can assert and exercise any effective share in the control of their own working lives. With the conditions of employment settled, employee by employee, through individual bargaining, the whole staff is reduced to a series of isolated persons recognising no interests in common, each playing for his own hand, and all consequently unable effectively to claim or to exercise any participation in the direction even of that part of the

* *Industrial Democracy*, by S. and B. Webb, see especially the chapter on "The Economic Characteristic of Trade Unionism." The same thing was borne out by evidence before the Committee even from employers. The representative of the National Federation of Laundry Associations and Launderers' Association, Limited, agreed that "one of the effects of having a uniform standard rate and having that on a very reasonable basis as regards the maintenance of the individual wage earner, would be to drive all the work into those laundries which had the best appliances." "If you ask me to take long views on the subject, I am absolutely with you," he replied, "but from my personal knowledge of the laundry trade, it would mean the shutting up of 75 per cent. of them." (Short-hand Notes of Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee, 12/12/18). It is significant that the laundry employers, in the absence of any Standard Rate, have been advertising for women at 20s. a week for a 60 hours week—a wage which is not more than 10s. a week at pre-war prices.

enterprise on which the conditions of their working lives depend. If we may assume that the aspirations for an enlarged industrial freedom for the workers concerned must inevitably receive some satisfaction, the universal establishment of common rules for each occupational grade is an indispensable condition of that expansion of the sphere of trade unions and professional associations which will permit of any collective settlement, occupation by occupation, of the conditions under which the service is rendered. It is, in fact, the only practicable alternative to the complete supremacy of bureaucratic "Government from above," whether official or capitalist.

4. The Principle of a Male Rate and a Female Rate must be rejected.—It has been suggested to us that—granting the necessity of common occupational rates—there should be, in each occupational grade, one such rate for men as such, and another, always much lower, for women as such. Such inequality of payment for similar work is the rule rather than the exception. I give one illustrative quotation from our evidence. "At one of the largest societies in the country—Leeds—a woman has replaced a man in the outfitting department. She not only does the same work behind the counter and in buying that he did, but, in addition, has undertaken the measurements for alterations for the tailoring department. The man's wages on enlistment were £3, the woman's wage in September, 1918, 23s.—that is including the war bonus—although the departmental manager freely admits that she is as valuable as the enlisted man. In the same society a branch boot and a branch drapery department, side by side, had each a man manager responsible for ordering goods from the central warehouse (not buying direct), who received 32s. in 1914. The men have since enlisted, and the two departments have been combined under one woman, who is responsible for all the ordering and other duties that the men performed. She is helped by a young girl. Her own wages (including war bonus) amount to 26s.; thus the work done by two men at 64s. is now done by one woman at 26s. and one girl at 25s. per week. The staff central boot department of the Pontefract Co-operative Society consisted of a manager at £3 17s. 6d. per week, a female assistant at 26s., and a young girl at 11s., being a total wage cost of £5 14s. 6d. per week. The manager enlisted and the first assistant was given his duties. In September, 1918, her wages were 37s. The 11s. was war bonus, no advance had been given for responsibilities, and the young assistant is now receiving 19s., partly wage advance and partly war bonus. The woman has undertaken all the duties that the male manager performed, and her turnover has increased by £1,560 per annum . . . not very largely due to increased prices, as the manager himself was present during the huge leap in prices consequent on war conditions in 1916-7."* Similar differences are common in many manufacturing industries.

The custom of paying women, even when doing the same work as men, much less than the men, has long prevailed, very largely, as we

* Shorthand Notes of Evidence to Committee, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees, 17/12/18 :—

The representative of the Hosiery Trades Union informed us that, before the war, "women were employed in every department of the Hosiery Trade except in Cotton's Patents (*e.g.* linking, seaming, and sewing machine). On many machines, owing to their intricacy and delicacy, the women are superior to the men . . . In Leicester the average wages per week were for men 40s. and for women 33s., girls 13s. to 14s. and young girls 5s. to 6s. (minimum). Under the old system men were paid on time as a minimum 8d. per hour, and women 4d." (Summaries of evidence to the War Cabinet Committee, p. 217).

think, for the non-economic reasons that have been already described in the foregoing section of the principle of the national minimum. We see, for instance, that the inequality has, during the war, actually been embodied in agreements between the men's trade unions and employers' associations, *coupled with a solemn bargain that after the war the women should be excluded from the men's jobs.* The principle of a male rate and a female rate is, in fact, inextricably bound up with the principle of the vested interest of the male. Wherever a trade union admits a lower rate for women it does so on the understanding that women are excluded from any part of the work claimed by the men.*

But differential occupational rates for men and women engaged in the same tasks, even when the wage is graduated strictly according to output, have been defended also by economic arguments. The employers have urged that, in particular occupations, the great bulk of women are less efficient than the common run of men, whether from inferiority of physical strength or of trained industrial skill, from worse time-keeping or more frequent absence through illness. It is said, indeed, that three women are often not more than equal to two men; and that this inferiority involves so much more workshop space, so many more machines, such additional superintendence and "welfare work, and such more onerous 'overhead charges'" per unit of output for that part, taken as a whole, of the factory staff which is female, than for that part, also regarded as a mass, which is male. It need not be doubted that, in some occupations, this is broadly true. The greater incidental expensiveness in these occupations of the female portion of the staff does not, however, in itself justify the existence of a male occupational rate and a female occupational rate for the same work. I see no justification for classifying together all the workers of one sex, and subjecting them all to a differential rate. It is admitted that some women are, in nearly all occupations, found to be superior in efficiency to the common run of men; and I can discover no ground for penalising these exceptional women because of the industrial inferiority of the mass of their colleagues. Exactly the same would be true if, in certain occupations requiring brute strength (such as steel smelting) the workers were classified, irrespective of sex according to whether they were over or below five-feet-five in height, or nine stone in weight. On the argument of greater overhead charges, the employer loses relatively as much in total expenses of production per unit of output when he pays an identical piecework rate to the industrially inferior fifty per cent. of his male workers as to their more efficient colleagues, as he does when he pays for the same work an identical occupational rate to the male and female portions of his staff.

* This is clearly brought out in the following cross-examination of the representative of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives :—

"With regard to the question of the employment of women on new machines what do you suggest, when you get a new machine, and a woman is found to be able to work that machine; would you, as the representative of the Union, insist on the male rates for the women, or would you consider that the fact that women could work the new machine proved that the employers were right to give a female rate?"

A. Such a position has never arisen, because if the machine is in either one of the male departments, it is taken for granted that that is male labour.

"Q. You would exclude the women from that machine then?"

"A. Yes. There was an attempt, when the present clicking machine became a commercial success, by some few firms to introduce women labour, but that was resisted." (Shorthand Notes of Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee, 28/10/1918), pp. 16-7).

The employer's plea for permission to pay a lower occupational rate to women than to men is sometimes put in the more specious form of a claim to make, from an identical rate, particular deductions when women are the recipients, on such grounds as (a) having to provide the women with extra appliances or with male assistance in particular parts of the task or extra superintendence; (b) having to provide overalls or other incidentals involved in the employment of women; or (c) having to meet Factory Act requirements or the cost of "welfare work." But this, it is clear, is merely the claim to pay a lower occupational rate because the employer chooses to engage for his tasks workers of lower net efficiency in production—a claim that I have already dealt with, and judged to be untenable.

There is a further practical reason why the Trade Unions—as we think rightly—object to any such deductions from the occupational rate otherwise than in certain rigidly defined cases which the Trade Union can control. The employers' deduction for special appliances or assistance,* extra superintendence or Factory Act requirements are, by the nature of the case, always arbitrary in amount, determined by the employer alone, without power or opportunity of verification of actual costs.† It is, in fact, almost beyond the capacity of the most accurate cost-accounting to assess with any precision what percentage of the earnings of each individual in the factory each week is, with an ever-varying total output, equivalent to the expense, partly capital and partly annual charge of an additional dining-hall, "rest-room" and lavatory block; and the assumed additional machinery, assistance and superintendence that the female part of the staff requires and obtains. *Moreover, there is no equity in making all the women as such pay equally for those parts of the extra service which only some of them require.* In practice the employer arbitrarily insists on deducting ten, twenty or fifty per cent. from all the women alike; and to the embittered workmen this seems merely an act of plunder.

In the analysis of the principle of "Equal Pay for Equal Work" it was shown that employers insisted on a lower rate for women on the ground that, when they were equal, or even superior to men in actual output, their labour was worth less because they could not be relied on to cope with an emergency requiring physical strength or special technical skill; or because they could not execute repairs to the machinery with which they were working. Such an argument is put forward habitually in all branches of engineering and other factory work. It was even pleaded, on behalf of the Government, as a reason why the women lift-attendants should not receive the same wages as the men whom they had replaced, that the women, unlike the men, could not repair the machinery

* In the well-organised cotton industry the women have insisted on making their own arrangements with regard to special appliances or assistance so as to prevent the employer from making deductions from their wages—for instance, the Beamers, Twistors and Drawers in—"both men and women are paid the same rate, but the women pay the men a certain sum each week in order to lift for them, so that the actual effect is that the women's wages are slightly lower than the men's, but the women would rather pay a man that amount and have rather less work." (Shorthand Notes of Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee, 18/10/18, p. 24—representative of Women's Industrial Council and Fabian Women's Group)

† The fact that a mixed staff may involve greater expense in sanitary accommodation, and other requirements than one exclusively of either sex comes under the same head. The extra expense involved in mixing the sexes is a cost to the community as well as to the employer—a lessening of net productivity—which ought not to be incurred unless it is economically advantageous, and for which, if it is economically advantageous, there is neither economic reason nor equity in making either sex pay in lower wages.

of the lift on the occurrence of a breakdown. The plea lost its strength when at the Arbitration the notice was produced, which had forbidden the men attendants, under dire penalties, ever to touch the machinery of the lift or to seek to repair defects!

It may be suggested that we have, in this notice, the clue to the answer. Either it is essential, or at least desirable, in view of the likelihood or the seriousness of possible emergencies, that all the operatives employed should possess the qualifications needed to deal with such emergencies; or it is not. If it is, then the workers concerned, whether men or women, should be chosen from among those so qualified and paid accordingly. If it is not—the fact being proved by the engagement of workers without such qualifications—then the lack of them cannot be pleaded as a ground for paying a lower rate because any particular workers, whether men or women, do not possess what is demonstrably not necessary for their work.

It must be emphasised that we have received very striking evidence not only from employers but also from some of the Trade Unions, which is confirmed by the testimony of Government inspectors and costing experts, that in certain occupations in which both men and women are employed—notably the gauging, sorting and adjusting of minute components, the running of automatic lathes, and certain kinds of weaving—the average woman produces over a long period a larger output than the common run of men, with greater docility, and a more contented mind, involving less "worry" to the management.* There would accordingly seem to be, on the common argument for a lower occupational rate for women, in these cases the same warrant for a lower occupational rate for the men, or for deductions equivalent not only to the greater overhead charges per unit of output involved in their increased requirements in machines, factory space, time and superintendence owing to their masculine clumsiness; but also to the expense and trouble to the management caused by their discontent and occasional strikes. We have, how-

* "Women for ammunition work" states the Manager of a Metal Works and National Filling Factory, "are much more suitable than men. . . . They have more delicacy of touch and their fingers are more supple. Discipline and scrupulous cleanliness are difficult to obtain in either sex, but once a woman has acquired these habits she can be relied upon to maintain them. I think that ought to be qualified—with supervision—but they are much more cleanly. Shops where woman work are really quite models compared to those where men work. They are very adaptable and train more quickly than men. (Shorthand Notes of Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee 28.10.18, pp. 63-4).

Another case of women's superiority is that of "cleaners." "In the case of women cleaners on the forecastles of ships in Salford docks," the Committee was told, "the men were paid 10s. 3d. a day for cleaning, and it is admitted that the women do the cleaning much better than the men; and the women are paid 5s. per day for exactly the same work as was done by the men." (Ibid. Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers Union). This superiority is confirmed in railway experience. "Every general manager that I know," said Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, "and have discussed this matter with, either officially or privately, have all borne testimony to the tremendous success of the women employed. So much so that a very dangerous situation arose the week before last. Mr. Potter, the general manager of the Great Western Railway, whilst giving effect to the pledge . . . about the re-employment of men back from the war, has interpreted that as not necessarily in the same grade but giving employment in others, and he himself in a letter to me . . . distinctly says that with regard to carriage cleaners the war has demonstrated to the railway company that women make better carriage cleaners than men, and he thought it ought to be developed to that extent." (Shorthand Notes of Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee, 16.12.18, p. 25).

ever, not met with any serious suggestion, either from the employers or from the Government—or even from the women—that men in these occupations should receive a lower occupational rate than the women, or should be subjected to special deductions, because of their sex disqualifications.*

But I object to considering only the presumed effect of this or that condition of employment on the employers' profits, or even on the operatives' wages. What ought to be considered, in the main, is the effect upon aggregate production. In so far as the employment of workers inferior in industrial efficiency involves a greater demand in the way of space or time, machinery or superintendence, it represents a loss to the community which is in no way compensated for by the payment to such inferior workers of lower rates of wages. But this is not all. Even apart from the waste of taking up fifty per cent. more machines, fifty per cent. more factory space, and fifty per cent. more superintendence, it is clearly uneconomical for the community to exact the efforts and sacrifices of three women for output which could be produced by the efforts and sacrifices of two men. Hence there is no public advantage, but actually a sheer national loss, in bribing the employer by permitting him to pay lower wages, or to make special deductions from the occupational rate to get his work done by workers industrially less efficient—whether women or men—so long as any more efficient workers for the task required are available. It is imperative, if we are to get the maximum production out of any given generation, that those who are responsible for the selection of workers, whether by hand or by brain, for the several occupational grades, should be under no temptation to deviate from the rule of getting every task performed by the workers who are, in all respects, the most efficient for the purpose. Only after he has taken on all the less costly workers who can perform the work with the lower expenditure of efforts and sacrifices, and with the least incidental expenses, and with the greater net efficiency, is the employer warranted in resorting to the more costly and less efficient workers, male or female; and then only to the extent that he finds their employment, even with all their personal shortcomings and drawbacks, positively advantageous to him. If their employment is thus advantageous to the employer, and presumably to the community, in enabling the work to be done for which there is a demand, there is no reason why the particular

* The representatives of the Brass Founders Employers' Association did make the suggestion, but as a *reductio ad absurdum* of "Equal Pay for Equal Work": "I do not think one point has been brought out and that is that in some work women are far better than men and do it far better, so if the basis is made of equal pay for equal work she should perhaps get more than a man." (The Shorthand Notes of Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee 17.10.18, p. 23). Other employers tacitly admitted the superiority of women by their argument that if the women were given the men's rates they would reduce their output to that of the men. "In the event of the same time rates being paid the men and women engaged on the same work, it is the opinion of the Soap Trade that the output by men would be reduced to that of the women, and therefore the production of the factories would be very materially curtailed." (Memorandum by the Representatives of the Soap and Candle Trades Employers' Federation: Memo. 63 of War Cabinet Committee, 1918). This was also the view taken by the Manager of Metal Works and a National Filling Factory: "I think the women will be able to hold their own quite well, but to give them men's pay is a different matter. We probably would not get any more out of them than we get out of the men, because except on physical work men are not so quick as the women. I think they would bring their rate of production down." (Shorthand Notes of Evidence before the War Cabinet Committee 28.10.18, p. 73). "As a commercial project" he added, an equal rate for men and women "would not do because although our women in pre-war earned £1 per week and the Woolwich men earned 25s or 27s, our women would turn out about twice as much as the men would." (Ibid, p. 66—7).

individuals last engaged, whether male or female, should be penalised by deductions which will never be proportionate to their individual shortcomings, which inevitably tend to tempt the employer actually to prefer this less efficient labour, and which cannot fail to imperil the maintenance of the occupational rate itself. There is plainly no equity in seeking to make such deductions only when the demand for additional workers compels resort to women, and abstaining from making them when the demand merely compels resort to ever lower grades of men. The existence, and the resolute enforcement as minima, of identical occupational rates, coextensive with the various occupational grades—irrespective of differences of sex, height, weight, colour, race or creed which are demonstrably not coincident with differences of individual proficiency—is therefore absolutely a condition of maximum production. The existence within any one occupational grade of higher and lower rates of wages, or of special deductions which make it equally profitable to the employer to engage at the lower rate, or with the deductions, workers of relatively inferior efficiency—and, as must inevitably happen, sometimes in the employer's opinion, even more profitable—is accordingly positively inimical to maximum production. The proposal to allow a lower occupational rate, or exceptional deductions from that rate, for women than for men engaged in the same occupational grade must therefore be definitely condemned.

The same argument, in my opinion, condemns the idea of differentiating in the prescribed conditions of employment, notably as regards sanitation, amenity, and hours of labour, between men as such and women as such. Factory legislation has secured many advantages to the workers, and has thereby greatly increased the national output; but in so far as these advantages have been restricted to particular industries, particular localities or a particular sex, the benefit to national productivity has fallen short of what it should have been; and there has been an incidental result of adverse character in the temptation afforded to employers not to choose the course that would have been economically the most advantageous for the community as a whole. I note with concern that my colleagues in their report advocate an extension and elaboration of the regulations of the Factory Acts in the case of women only; and advise that such provisions should be inserted in the consolidated Factory Act that is now overdue. I think, on the contrary, that the consolidation of the Factory Acts should be made the occasion of sweeping away all special provisions differentiating men from women. These special provisions arose during a period when the male Trade Unionists objected to having the conditions of their employment regulated by law. This objection has entirely ceased and the male Trade Unionists are, on the contrary, now pressing for more stringent legal regulation of their own conditions than are at present incorporated in the legislation applicable to women. I see no reason why, in the interest of the community as a whole, the prescribed national minimum with regard to sanitation and amenity in the factory, with regard to the provision of medical attendance, and with regard to securing a due proportion of each twenty-four hours for rest and recreation should be any lower or any different for workers of one sex than for workers of the other.

It may be urged that there are certain processes of industry, and even certain occupations, which are specially injurious or dangerous to persons of the female sex. I should hesitate before accepting this view. The officials of the men's Trade Unions often represent that such and such

an occupation is "unfit for women" merely on the ground of its danger.* Medical practitioners, usually men, have sometimes put forward a similar plea. But unless it can be shown that the danger is inherently and universally greater for women than for men, there seems no reason why any sex restriction should be imposed. What the community has to do for dangerous occupations is to take care that all possible means are employed to reduce the danger to a minimum, and to provide full compensation for the victims—leaving then the occupation open so far as the law is concerned to such individuals of either sex as chose to engage in it.

There may conceivably be processes which are specially injurious to persons of the female sex, warranting some special provisions with regard to them. The chief case is that of working in lead, where it is said that women are specially susceptible to lead poisoning. I do not feel sure that what has been proved is a special susceptibility of the female sex, or a special susceptibility of particular individuals. The experience during the war with T.N.T. and other poisonous substances leads me to the inference—and this is the suggestion of women doctors who have served as medical officers of factories—that what is called for is not the exclusion from work of all persons of one sex, or even the subjecting of them to special restrictions, but the minute, careful and persistent observation, by the medical officer of the factory, of the health and diathesis of the individual workers irrespective of sex, and the application of such special precautions, such restrictions and even such exclusions as may be called for by the proved susceptibility of the several individuals affected, whether they are men or women.

5. The Principle of Adjusting Money Wages to Meet Increases in Cost of Living must be Accepted.—The need for deliberate and systematic revision of rates of wages, so as to secure their rise proportionately with any substantial increase in the cost of living has been proved, not only by the experience of war time, but also by that of the previous years between 1896 and 1913. When prices rise, money wages lag behind, and move upwards both more tardily and to a smaller degree. The case is aggravated by the fact that the failure of wages to follow prices is most marked, both in respect of date and in that of

* Thus, the representative of the Amalgamated Society of Dyers and Finishers urged that women should be excluded from "wet processes in cotton warp and hank." "I can give you some cases of illness that we had to deal with some two or three years back in Scotland . . . where women worked in what we term bichromatised soda, and we have had them photographed, and there was going to be a libel action by a certain company, and I do not know what they were not going to do with us. Of course we did not run away; we had sufficient evidence. Their arms were absolutely eaten into with big festering sores. We have the photographs to-day. That, to a certain extent, goes on yet . . . While that is very detrimental to men it must be doubly so to women, and it is not a process for women to work in at all. Their arms are immersed in this solution. They wear gloves and armlets. Once people contract this disease it never leaves them. At certain times of the year it will break out afresh. I know men who had it 30 years back and they have it to-day . . . It generally starts in the wrist and spreads up, and it is deadly. In another firm, Burgess, Ledward & Co., Walkden, where women have been put to work of turning stuff over in the cisterns, out of at least 150 women who have been started, not more than a dozen have been there throughout in that dyeing house department." (Ibid, 15.11.18.) There is here no reason given why the men should be subjected to such conditions any more than women. The employment of women as shunters on the railway was similarly objected to. "The rate of mortality amongst men shunters is 1 in 19 killed and injured, and the risk is altogether too great, and we felt that it was on every ground work which could not legitimately be expected from women . . . The same principle was applied by one company attempting to employ them as signal women, taking their place in a signal box." (Ibid, 16.12.18.) Whatever ground there may be for preferring men to women in railway work, the danger of the occupation appears to furnish a reason less for the exclusion of women than for the taking of proper precautions to safeguard the workers, whatever their sex.

amount, among the least organised and the worst paid sections of the wage-earners, and notably among women. The result of there being no systematic and deliberate revision of money rates of wages in correspondence with a rise in the cost of living is, as was seen in the fifteen years preceding the war, on the one hand the spread of labour unrest, and an outburst of strikes among the stronger sections; and, on the other, the reduction of the standard of life among the weaker sections, notably among the women, with a spread of the morass of "sweating." It is plainly essential in the public interest that there should be some provision for promptly, adequately and authoritatively raising all wages, whether of men or of women, in correspondence with any substantial increase in the cost of living.

Assuming that occupational rates and the national minimum are universally placed at an adequate level, there would be great advantages in the ascertainment and periodical declaration of an official index number expressing the current retail prices of all the principal commodities and services entering into the normal standard of life of all grades of persons co-operating in production. Such an index number should be strictly confined to the prices of commodities and services of identical quantity and quality; and should not be affected by the greater or less savings of particular families, which may lead to their actual expenditures rising or falling. Once the national minimum and all occupational rates have been placed at an adequate level, I see no objection to money rates of wages being universally lowered, as well as universally raised, in exact correspondence, quarter by quarter, with any substantial change in the index number. At the same time it must not be assumed that no other changes in wages and salaries, apart from alterations in the cost of living, will need to be made. Wages and salaries must be regarded, not as part of the cost of production, but as shares in the net product of the nation's industry; and, far from being stereotyped at the level of the cost of living, they should be regarded as rightly destined to be increased, within no other bounds than that set by the net product itself, with every advance in the nation's prosperity.

Unfortunately, we cannot assume that either occupational rates, or any national minimum likely to be assured to the manual workers or minor professionals within the near future, will be at an adequate level; and it will, therefore, be to the national advantage that any decline in the cost of living during the next few years should not be accompanied by any decrease in money rates of wages, more especially in all the lower paid grades, to which the majority of women workers belong. The maintenance, as a basic minimum, of the existing money rates should, at any rate, in all grades below £3 per week—be insisted on.

6. The Principle of Determining Wages by Family Obligations must be Rejected.—It has been shown that this principle of determining wages by family obligations has not been adopted in industrial enterprise. In some occupations the rates of wages for men have been, for long periods, demonstrably insufficient for the full maintenance of a wife and even the smallest number of children at the lowest possible level of subsistence. In more fortunate trades, where the standard rate may be sufficient to keep a family, the unmarried man does not receive something less than the standard time wages because he has fewer responsibilities than the married men; nor does the childless man get less than the father of a large family. In so far as the matter is left to unfettered individual competition, or to collective bargaining, the employers in any industry, taken as a whole, pay to the several

grades of men whom they employ only what they are compelled to pay by the relative "supply and demand" of labour of the kind required at the particular time and place, or according to the standard rates for whole classes of labour that the Trade Unions have been able to enforce.* The idea of varying the piece-work rate of different men in the same workshop according to their several family responsibilities never enters the head of any employer. "If I go to work as a carpenter in London," remarked one of our Trade Union witnesses, "it does not matter whether I have 10 children or none; I get the same rate; they do not ask me how many children I have got. They engage me as a carpenter, and if I were an engineer, they would engage me as an engineer; they do not put my wages down according to the family I have got." When an advance of wages is sought by the men, and the argument is used that the advance is called for by a rise in the cost of living, it never occurs to the employers to reply that this rise may justify an advance to the fathers of families, but that the bachelors and childless men, having, it is assumed, lower living expenses, have a much weaker case, and should, therefore, be excluded from the advance. No Trade Union would, for a moment, listen to any such contention; and rightly, because it cuts at the root of the principle of the standard rate of remuneration for effort. The employer has no knowledge of what may be the several responsibilities of his employees, whether men or women; and in the matter of wages he has no concern with them. He is not morally entitled to get his work done at a lower rate by one operative, because that operative happens to have fewer responsibilities, than by another, who happens to have more; and the employer would certainly refuse to pay a higher rate for the work done, merely because the operative whom he had engaged for the task happened to have an exceptionally large family. Any such differentiation would be, moreover, in flat contradiction of the principle of collective bargaining and the occupational rate; nor would it correspond with the results of the higgling of the market, any more than with variations among individuals in industrial efficiency or advantageousness to the employer.

But though the principle of determining wages by family obligations has not been carried out in fixing the wages of men, the argument in favour of a lower national minimum and lower occupational rates for women than for men has been largely based on the assumption that women as a class have no family obligations. As matter of fact, the proportion of males over 18 in industry who have a child or children is estimated, taking the kingdom as a whole, at not more than 50 per cent.; whilst the proportion of adult women who have one or more children (and sometimes also a sick husband) to maintain probably reaches half as much. The existence of family obligation fails, thus, to support the plea for a male rate and a female rate.

The leading case of fixing a rate lower for females than for males is, of course, the teachers' scale of salaries giving different rates to men and women respectively, avowedly on the ground that men have family obligations. How hypocritical is this plea is seen from the fact that,

* It is commonly assumed by the economists that the earnings of labour must, on an average, suffice to maintain not only the workers themselves, but also the number of children required to keep up the supply of labour. This, however, applies only to the wage-earning community as a whole, and "in the long run." It is never asserted by the economists as being necessarily true of any particular trade, which may be, and in fact nowadays always is, recruited partly from the children of parents employed in other trades, or in other localities. It cannot therefore be taken for granted even "in the long run," that the wages in any trade must be sufficient to pay for the maintenance of the number of children required for its recruitment.

whilst no married teacher is ever given any addition to his salary because he has more than an average family to maintain, the teacher who remains childless receives continuously no less than his colleague who enriches the State with children; and the woman, who is sometimes a widow supporting her children, and still more often a spinster for whom the prospects of marriage are statistically small, are alike paid at rates markedly below those given to the male teacher who obstinately remains a bachelor. I see, therefore, no ground for differentiating wages according to family obligations; and certainly no justice in making this the basis of any differentiation between men and women as such, irrespective of their family obligations.

7. The Principle of the Vested Interest of the Male must be Rejected.—It will not be seriously argued to-day that we can maintain what we have called the vested interest of the male, in so far as it demands the exclusion, from any occupation whatever, of persons who prove themselves to be competent at the work. It is not only that the exclusion of women, as women, from any occupation into which they seek an entry is a restriction on the liberty of more than half the population. Any such narrowing of the field of selection, and any such limitation of choice of occupation, necessarily detracts, to an unknown degree, from that utilisation to the fullest extent of every available talent upon which maximum productivity depends. There is no ground whatever for any deliberately imposed exclusion or inclusion with regard to any occupation whatever of a whole class, whether marked out by sex, height, weight, colour, race or creed. Any such artificial eligibility or ineligibility by class necessarily involves unfairness to individuals. There can plainly be no warrant for any other ground of selection or exclusion, whether in manual working occupations or in the brain-working professions, in capital enterprise or in the public service, than the aptitude and fitness of each individual.

8. The Principle, wherever Practicable, of a Definite Qualification for an Occupation must be Accepted.—We have seen that the principle of requiring a qualification or certificate of competency for a candidate for employment has been increasingly adopted for brain-working professions and it is to be noted that there is a similar desire to insist on qualifications on the part of the skilled Trade Unions. I regard this principle of qualification for employment as a valuable one and one which should be extended, wherever possible, both to the workers by hand and brain. I look forward to the time when all occupations will have become "professions," in the sense that they will require a definite technique.

We have already noticed the advantage of the insistence on some specific qualification in hindering favouritism or jobbery in filling vacancies, in promoting the selection for each post of the fittest candidate, and in ruling out the competition of persons of less competence who seek to commend themselves by offering to serve at less than the current occupational rate. There is no reason why the principle should not be extended to all brain-working occupations, notably to those connected with the organisation and management of agriculture, manufacture and commerce. The conspicuous lack of technical efficiency that we see prevailing among many farmers and not a few of those responsible for other industries necessarily leads to the enquiry why anyone should be permitted to direct or manage the nation's land, or its coal mines, or its industry, without having proved his technical competence, any more than he is permitted to engage in medicine or law, or in mining engineering or the navigation of a merchant ship. I see no reason why

an analogous requirement should not be extended to all manual occupations, admission to which, and eligibility for the occupational rate, should be as much dependent on evidence of a prescribed minimum of technical proficiency, as in other vocations. I regard this principle of qualification as of great national importance, not only by its exclusion of absolute inefficiency, but still more for its influence in concentrating competition on personal efficiency, and above all, for its effect in raising the self-respect of each section or grade. It would give an incomparable stimulus to the youth or maiden to take advantage of every opportunity for technical training and general education. No section would be more benefited than the women. The fact of a specific qualification being required of the adult woman, as a condition of admission to every eligible employment would remove the lingering reluctance of parents to give as much care to the education and training of daughters as of sons; and would go far to dispel the unfortunate tendency of the girls to regard their industrial employment as merely a temporary phase, to be promptly given up on marriage, and therefore to be contented with the wage of an unskilled worker. It need hardly be said that a woman does not make a more efficient wife and mother by having been an inefficient factory hand; nor will she be the less efficient as a housekeeper and parent because she has had the advantage of some specific training. An incidental advantage of the exacting of qualifications will be the discarding of such obsolete forms of training as the seven years' apprenticeship, which are apt to linger only as methods of arbitrary exclusion in protection of the interests of particular sections.

It may be feared the exacting of qualifications for admission to particular occupations will be used to create new vested interests and artificial monopolies. But, as a matter of fact, experience shows that the institution of a publicly required qualification, which must necessarily be made open to all-comers, and the acquisition of which cannot practically be limited to any prescribed number or class of persons, is the best way of preventing the institution and maintenance of sectional and often unavowed restrictions on entrance. A series of examinations, based in the main on practical tests of efficiency, physical, no less than mental, conducted under public authority by representative joint committees of the persons actually engaged in the occupation, together with educational experts, open to all-comers irrespective of sex, creed, class or previous training, would afford to the community alike the best guarantee of efficiency and the best safeguard against the dominance of existing vested interests; and to the rising generation the most valuable stimulus to self-improvement, in which women would specially benefit.

9. The Formula of "Equal Pay for Equal Work" must be Rejected, but only because of its Ambiguity.—We have seen that this formula has no precise meaning and is diversely interpreted by the persons concerned as (1) equal pay for equal efforts and sacrifices; (2) equal pay for equal product; (3) equal pay for equal value to the employer. Hence any adoption of the formula would lead to endless misunderstandings between employers and employed, and increased industrial friction. The first interpretation of it—equal pay for equal efforts and sacrifices, measured by some convention of time or task—amounts, as we have seen, merely to what has been called the National Minimum, and the Occupational or Standard Rate upon a time-work basis. The second interpretation—that of "Equal Pay for Equal Product"—can only be put effectively into operation by the adoption of piecework or some equivalent method of payment per item of output. When such piecework rates are (as is the case in the great industries of

mule-spinning and cotton-weaving) embodied in standard lists of prices, determined by collective bargaining, interpreted jointly by the expert officials of the organisations of employers and employed, and safeguarded by a stringent prohibition of all time-work or alternative methods of remuneration that might let in individual bargaining, they become merely occupational rates such as we have proposed, yielding to the common run of the workers employed at least a predetermined weekly income corresponding with the accepted standard of life.* Much the same may be said of the arrangements in those industries in which the piecework prices, or other forms of payment per item of output, are determined, case by case by collective bargaining, not left to individual bargaining, and safeguarded by a guaranteed common minimum weekly wage secured to each operative retained in employment, whatever his or her output. Here, again, we get something which amounts only to the occupational rate. But in any industry in which the piecework prices, or the rates in other systems of payment by results are not thus determined and safeguarded—thereby becoming virtually what we have called occupational or standard rates, “Equal Pay for Equal Product” plainly amounts to no more than a system of individual bargaining in the higgling of the market; and inevitably results in the emergence of a “Man’s Rate” and a “Woman’s Rate” not corresponding with or proportionate to any differences in output. As has been already described, the employer finds no difficulty in evading the payment to the women of the same piecework prices as to the men, either by keeping the women on time-work or by “degrading the job,” so as to prevent the women from claiming rates identical with those of the men; or else by taking advantage of the large mass of unorganised women to lower the rates by individual bargaining with the female portion of his staff. The changes or differences are often trivial. “If the slightest change is made in the method of production,” stated the representative of the General Workers’ Union, “you have no means of comparing them; if somebody comes and oils a bearing you cannot compare like with like because there is assistance given. I had that done for me by a labourer many times and the sensible thing to do. The employer or the manager or the foreman or the workman sometimes insists that something shall be done, and it is so difficult to prove like with like. One case we lost recently was the case of a man who had oiled two bearings and had put grease on another bearing which supported a shaft. . . . We were told that we were not doing equal work because somebody had oiled that.”†

The third interpretation—Equal Pay for Equal Value to the Employer—whether secured by lower time or piecework rates to any members of a staff engaged on similar work (usually the women), who are alleged not to be as profitable to the employer as some other members of that staff, or by making deductions from such rates in respect of the alleged individual shortcomings of such inferior portion (again usually the women), has been already sufficiently dealt with and shown to be inconsistent with the effective maintenance of any rates at all.

* So much is this the case that it is, in the cotton industry, a recognised practice, accepted by the employers’ organisation, for an employer whose machinery is old-fashioned or badly run, or who supplies defective material, so that the operatives cannot, at the prescribed List of Prices, make the standard weekly income, to find himself required, by the joint decision of the expert officials of the Trade Union and the Employers’ Association, to pay for the lessened output actually at a prescribed percentage above the List of Prices, in order that the operatives may not be the losers by the relative inefficiency of his business.

† The Shorthand Notes of Evidence given before the War Cabinet Committee on 15th October, 1918, p. 45.

A similar criticism applies to the ideal which the Paris Conference is formulating for the guidance of the International Labour Conference of the League of Nations. To say that "equal pay shall be given to women and to men for work of equal value in quantity and quality" is, unfortunately, to evade all the difficulties and encourage all the evasions. Is the "equal value"—say of the piece of cloth produced—to be computed according to its value to the ultimate consumer, or to the profit-making employer, who has to consider differential overhead charges, or to the community, which needs to consider the relative efforts and sacrifices imposed on the producers? I cannot but think that the phrases that my colleagues use in the Majority Report of this Committee are equally ambiguous. In their opening definition they declare "that women doing similar or the same work as men should receive equal pay for equal work in the sense that pay should be in proportion to efficient output." But does this refer to identical work only, or to work that is not identical; and is the efficiency to be tested by the quantity or quality of the product, or by the time taken, or by the amount of space and plant required? When I look for light in their fourteen elaborate resolutions, I find only confusion. They declare, for instance, "that in every case in which the employer maintains that a woman's work produces less than a man's, the burden of proof should rest on the employer, who should also have to produce evidence of the lower value of the woman's work, to which the fixed sum to be deducted from the man's rate for the particular job throughout the whole of the industry should strictly correspond." How can a deduction to be made throughout the whole of the industry correspond, strictly or otherwise, with evidence of the lower value of the work of one particular woman? I defy any Trade Union or any Employers' Association to work out a list of piece-work prices or time-rates according to this rule.

10. The Device of Profit-Sharing must be Rejected.—We have now three-quarters of a century of experience of profit-sharing schemes initiated by individual employers in all sorts and kinds of industries, with little encouragement to those who have believed in this principle. The schemes have seldom been long-lived; some of the more ambitious of them have been peremptorily rejected after a short trial by the operatives; more of them have been continued against the will of the Trade Unions concerned, whilst others have been introduced amongst unorganised workers. The objection of the operatives has been manifold. The employers' schemes have very generally been regarded as lacking in candour and honesty, as they always involve the securing of a prescribed interest on a nominal capital, in the verification of which the wage-earners have no share; and also the liberty, before sharing profits, to pay salaries of managers, fees of directors, charges for development of the enterprise, allowances for depreciation and allocations to reserve funds over which the wage-earners can exercise no control. Moreover, the profits in which the manual worker is invited to share, in order to stimulate him to greater exertion, are, for the most part, not dependent either on his exertion or his fidelity. In practically all business enterprises to-day the profits depend, to an enormous extent, on success in buying the raw material, on skill in disposing of the product, on the advantageous location and planning of the factory, on its up-to-date equipment, and on the efficiency with which it is managed—all these being factors in which the wage-earners are permitted no interference or control. To make the manual workers' share of profit dependent on all the variations of management is to urge them to greater effort without any assurance that it will meet with any reward.

But the wage-earners' objections to profit-sharing are more fundamental. Profit-sharing, in practice as well as in theory, is inimical to the conception of occupational rates. For the operatives in particular firms to be remunerated partly by a varying share of profits, even if these are always additional to the standard rate prevailing throughout the whole trade, necessarily tends to lessen their interest in maintaining and advancing that standard rate; and tends therefore to weaken the influence of the trade as a whole in the collective bargaining for which a universal adhesion to the standard rate and other common rules is deemed indispensable. To meet this last objection, that the profit-sharing schemes of individual establishments are hostile to the maintenance of a standard rate and to control by the Trade Unions, the employers have, as we have mentioned, lately put forward the principle of collective profit-sharing. But there are the same sort of objections to these collective schemes as to the individual schemes of profit-sharing. The Trade Union, even if it is represented on a joint board, can have no voice in the management of the several concerns in the buying of raw material or the selling of the product. Moreover, the profits to be shared are only to be what remains after a prescribed rate of interest has been paid on a nominal capitalisation, all the employers retaining their rights to decide what shall constitute the capital of each concern, and what part of the income shall be set aside for depreciation.

But the wage-earners object to the whole idea. They do not wish to participate, with their livelihood, in the ups and downs of commercial profit. It is one thing for the capitalist, whose daily house-keeping is not thereby affected, to engage, with his capital, in the gambling of business enterprise. It is quite another thing for the manual worker, the maintenance of whose wife and children is at stake, to make his scanty income rise and fall according to the chances of trade. Finally, the wage-earners, as a class, have a growing objection to the very making of profit, as an undesirable motive for the conduct of industry.

11. The Principle of Limiting Wages by Reference to Foreign Competition must be Rejected.—There is no reason why the mere fact that the employer finds a difficulty in placing his wares in an open market at the same prices as those of his competitors should lead to the inference that the rates of wages of the manual workers should be reduced. There is the alternative of reducing the salaries of the management and clerical staff, or the profits of the shareholders. Moreover, there are the other alternatives of lowering the cost of production by the introduction of more efficient machinery, the reduction of the establishment charges or the expense of the selling agency, the better organisation of the business or its conduct on a larger scale, or, finally, the application of greater managerial ability. There seems no justice in expecting the manual workers, who are allowed no opportunity of deciding how the industry should be run, to pay in lower wages for the relative inefficiency of the employers and managers. If any particular concern cannot keep its head above water, in competition with others, it is better that it should go out of business and let its share pass to other concerns more favourably situated, better equipped or managed with superior ability. The same aggregate volume of employment will be provided whether all the business is concentrated in the most efficient establishments or dispersed among all those that have entered the trade with very varying degrees of commercial efficiency. To seek to bolster up the weakest concerns by enabling them to get "cheap labour" is really to militate against maximum productivity.

But it is of course objected, often incorrectly, that the competition apprehended is not between one British concern and another, but between all the British concerns in a particular industry and those of other countries, leading either to a cessation of a particular export trade, or even to the introduction of foreign wares into the home market. Here, again, it may be observed that there seems no reason why it should be the manual workers who should be made to pay for British inferiority of machinery or equipment, British extravagance in establishment expenses, British inability to organise industry on the most economical scale, or British desire for large profits. It has repeatedly been pointed out that it is not the rate of wages that determines the cost of production, but the labour cost of the product; and that this is dependent far more on the manner in which the industry is organised than upon the rate of wages. As a matter of fact the most serious competitors of British manufacturing industries are not the countries in which the level of wages is low, but those in which it is relatively high, often higher than in this country. It was the relatively well-paid labour of Germany—it is to-day the exceptionally high-paid labour of the United States—that produce the commodities which competed with our manufacturers for the home market, or by which the growth of our export trade in neutral markets is most imperilled.

The manufacturer harassed by competition is, we venture to think, seldom able to take an accurate view of the position. He is keenly aware that he is being undersold, but he is not implicitly to be believed when he declares that it is foreign competition which is at fault, or the competition of this or that country, or the low rate of wages which is being paid in that country. More often than not it is to another manufacturer of his own country that his trade is passing, and statistics prove that whilst his own sales are dwindling, those of British manufacturers in the aggregate are increasing. Even when the whole British export of a particular commodity to one foreign country are falling off, it will be found that the aggregate British exports of that very commodity to all countries are growing year after year. The plea of the employer that without cheap labour he will lose his export trade is—as the trade statistics of the past generation abundantly demonstrate—in most cases only a confession that he is being outstripped in efficiency, not by foreign but actually by British competitors in his own industry.

There are, however, cases in which articles produced in this country at a lower cost than in other countries gradually lose that advantage, owing—as it may confidently be said in every instance—not to any reduction of the rate of wages in those countries, but to some improvement in the processes, the organisation or the skill of their manufacturers. It is then often suggested, in order to maintain the advantage which the British manufacturers are losing—not that a corresponding improvement should be made in the processes, the organisation or the skill of the British manufacturers, which would lead to a genuine lowering of the cost of production—but that the manual workers should submit to a reduction of their wages rather than lose the export trade. Here, again, there is neither justice nor reason in the plea. There is no ground for asking the manual workers in a particular industry to accept a lower rate of wages than is customary in other industries in the same country, merely because the employers in that industry cannot compete with those of foreign countries. If a particular industry cannot be carried on in this country at the rates of wages customary in this country, in such a way as to compete with production in other countries, it is better for this country, including the

manual workers, that such an industry should be abandoned to the other countries. Any industry that can be maintained in this country only at the cost of "sweating" is an industry that we are better without.

What restrains people from whole-hearted acceptance of this view—which few persons venture to deny—is a fear lest what may be true of this or that industry may be true of industry in general. It may be, such persons feel, not one branch of one export trade that this country may lose by its relatively high cost of production (which is assumed, quite incorrectly, to be nearly the same as high rates of wages), but all its export trade. It may be not this or that commodity of foreign manufactures in our home market, but all foreign commodities.

Such fears, the economists tell us with rare unanimity, are groundless. There is no possibility of this country both continuing to import foreign products, whether foodstuffs or exotic luxuries, raw materials or manufactures—and for this purpose it matters not how our imports are made up—without our exporters finding it profitable to export other commodities of our own production to the full equivalent of our imports. There is, indeed, in the long run, no way of paying for imports except by exports (including such services as may be rendered by shipping, or in banking or insurance). What is at stake is, to put it briefly, not our export trade, but the particular commodities of which it will be composed. What determines the selection of commodities to be exported is not the actual relation of the cost of production of each of them to the cost of production of the same article abroad, but the comparative cost of these articles among themselves. If in one commodity we have an advantage over other countries of 10 per cent., in another of 5 per cent., and in another of 2 per cent., our export trade will be made up to a preponderating extent of the first commodity, to the neglect of the second, and still more of the third. To put an extreme case in the other direction, it is conceivable that a nation may go on exporting—each transaction yielding a profit to the exporting firm—even if it stands at a disadvantage with regard to cost of production in all its output of commodities, provided only that the disadvantage is unequal. If in one commodity it is at a disadvantage of 2 per cent., in another of 5 per cent., and in another of 10 per cent., the whole export trade will tend to be concentrated on the first commodity, in which the disadvantage is least, to the neglect of the others. The rates of exchange and the level of prices will shift to the extent necessary to enable the exporting firm to sell this commodity abroad at a profit, notwithstanding its production at 2 per cent. higher cost than in the country to which it is sent.

Thus, the fear that, because this or that manufacturer of this or that commodity finds himself unable to compete with foreign producers, Britain must be losing its export trade, is founded upon inadequate knowledge of the facts. Certainly the manual workers generally need be under no apprehension that a rise in the standard of life in this country, expressed as it may be in a higher level of wages throughout British industry, will result in a falling off of our foreign trade. And this has long been the judgment of the economists. "General low wages," said John Stuart Mill, "never caused any country to under-sell its rivals; nor did general high wages ever hinder it from doing so."*

It follows that to attempt to bolster up an imperilled export trade in a particular commodity by seeking to lower the rate of wages paid for its production, or by striving to prevent such a rise in wages as will place these manual workers on a level with their fellows in other industries, is not justified by any argument as to the maintenance of British

* *Principles of Political Economy*, Book III., Ch. XXV., Sec. 4 (p. 414 of 1865 edition).

trade as a whole. To give to any particular industry the doubtful boon of "cheap labour" may enable more and more of the commodity which it produces to be sold at low prices, whether at home or abroad; but these sales are only to the detriment of other commodities, produced under better wage conditions, of which the output will then be progressively restricted.*

12. I Recommend the Adoption of a New Principle, namely that of a Closer Correspondence of Occupational Rates to Relative Efforts and Needs.—I do not think that the adoption of the principles that I have so far suggested, namely, those of the national minimum, occupational rates, the adjustment of money wages to the cost of living, and the requirement of qualifications wherever practicable, will suffice either to prevent unrest or to secure stability. In the last section of Chapter I. I referred to the chaos in which the relative earnings of individuals and classes had been left by the war. This chaos was not the creation of the war, or of the Government pledges however much it may have been increased thereby. Already prior to the war various sections of the manual workers had notoriously secured rates of wages which, though not in themselves necessarily excessive, were out of proportion to those obtained by other sections, even when allowance was made for differences in efforts and needs. The divergence between customary male rates and customary female rates was only one example of the chaos, and was itself paralleled by the divergence between the majority of occupations classed as skilled and those classed as unskilled, irrespective of sex. Even in exclusively male occupations which were definitely "skilled," we had such extremes as the steel-smelters earning ten times as much as the agricultural labourers. The embittered demarcation disputes between men of different occupations, and the obstinate maintenance of the vested interests of particular classes of operatives—including what has been called the vested interest of the male—are very largely to be ascribed to the existence of these discrepancies between earnings, irrespective of any corresponding differences in efforts and needs. Hence, it seems that the problem is not to be solved merely by an adjustment of the relative rates of wages of men and women respectively. Men and women in industry are, in fact, ceasing to be distinct classes, even if they ever were, and are more and more becoming merged in the armies of the skilled and the semi-skilled, each of them divided into numerous sectional grades. The great majority of the organised women workers are members, not of women's Trade Unions but of Trade Unions common to both sexes, either "skilled" or not. It is already plain that the internecine struggles of the Trade Union world will take the form, not so much of conflicts between men and women workers, as of the rivalry between the sections classed as skilled and those classed as "semi-skilled," largely irrespective of sex. It

* We had cited to us an instance in which this diversion of manufactures from a well-paid to a badly paid industry could be definitely traced. "To take the case in the Cotton Industry of the Ring spinners and Mule spinners. The Ring spinning as you know is a woman's trade. I am told by the secretary of the Card and Blowing Room operatives that it was simply an accident it was a woman's trade and not men's, and because it is a woman's trade it is paid just about half the rate of Mule spinning. The consequence is that all the energy of development and expansion of the trade is thrown on the Ring spinning side of the industry and capital tends to follow cheap labour and capital tends to go into Ring spinning as against Mule spinning. The number of Ring spinners have increased within the last generation at a greater pace than the number of Mule spinners. Indirectly I think it tends to drag down the men's trade, and I think it is the competition of Ring spinning which interferes with Mule spinners to some extent—anyhow shortening their hours and reducing the speeding up." (Evidence of Mrs. Drake, Women's Industrial Council, 18.10.18).

appears to be indispensable, alike to stability and to the prevention of unrest, that the chaos of earnings should be reduced to some sort of order. There is now a widespread recognition of the paramount importance of providing for needs. The physiological needs of adults may differ according to the character of the work—the steel-smelter, for instance, may require more food than the agricultural labourer—but no worker needs ten times as much food as another. The housing requirements of various sections of workers may differ; but the essentials of a home, including a suitable environment for the next generation, are common to all families. Democracy implies a common standard of education and manners. I conclude, therefore, that the basis of any general adjustment of occupational rates must assume the form of a closer correspondence of the several rates to the efforts and needs of the various sections.

It is, I think, clear that any such general adjustment of occupational rates, so as to bring them more in proportion to efforts and needs, could not be confined to the manual workers. There are large classes of brain-workers, among whom may be cited teachers, clerks, scientific workers of all kinds, ministers of religion, and minor officials in the Public Departments or under Local Authorities, whose salaries and other earnings equally need adjusting in order to permit of the maintenance of their standard of life. Moreover, in view of the growing demand for a greater measure of equality in the earnings of the different sections of the community, with due regard to differences in efforts and needs, I suggest that it will prove impossible to enter on any such enquiry without including within its scope the incomes of the learned professions and those obtained by the managers and directors of business enterprises.

CHAPTER III.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ARISING OUT OF THE PRINCIPLES RECOMMENDED.

We have seen that the chaos into which the rates of wages have been thrown during the war renders necessary a reconsideration of the principles upon which the rates are determined, not merely as between those of women in relation to those of men, but, substantially, as between all grades and sections of workers. We have no ground for making sex a reason for differentiation in the conditions of employment any more than race or creed. Women, like men, are for the purposes of industry, not a homogeneous class, and whilst the majority of one sex excel the majority of the other in particular qualities making for efficiency, this is true of both sexes—it cannot be said that men are in all respects superior to women, or women to men—and, what is more important, there are in each case individuals of one sex who are distinctly superior in productivity to the majority of the other. Thus, there is no justice in, and no economic basis for, the conception of a man's rate and a woman's rate. The community has learnt from dire experience that wages cannot, without disaster, be left to individual bargaining in the higgling of the market; and we have seen that what has to be adopted is the principle of the national minimum as the fixed basis, with occupational rates enforced as a necessary condition of employment of all persons engaged for specific occupational grades. The national minimum and the various occupational rates, so far as expressed in terms of currency, should be automatically raised by percentages with each

appreciable increase in the cost of living. There is no reason for respecting the vested interest of the male in particular occupations any more than other vested interests, and it has been suggested, as an alternative, that there should be an extension of the practice of requiring, from every aspirant to employment in particular occupational grades, a prescribed technical qualification, which should, of course, be open to attainment irrespective of sex, race or creed. I recommend, for the readjustment of earnings which the existing chaos makes necessary, the adoption of an additional principle of general application, namely that of a closer correspondence of occupational rates with relative efforts and needs.

We have now to examine the implications of the principles recommended. We need to trace the effect of their adoption upon individual liberty in the choice of occupation. We must forecast the result on the employment of women and men respectively, and on their liability to unemployment. No less important is their probable effect on the employment and the training of young persons of either sex, and of the relatively inefficient. We need to consider how far the necessarily diverse family obligations of individuals can be met by any system of remuneration for work, and what practicable alternative can be suggested. Finally, we have to deal with the principle of a closer correspondence of incomes with efforts and sacrifices without the adoption of which we shall scarcely be able to reduce the present chaos to order.

(a) *The Effect on Liberty.*

We have to note, in the first place, the significant effect of the enforcement of uniform rates (as minima) in maximising individual liberty. Just as a strict observance of the rule of the road, whilst putting limits on the potential action of any one person, secures to all users of the road, taken together, a larger freedom than they could possibly enjoy without the rule, so the strict enforcement of uniform minimum rates, without differentiation of sex, height, weight, colour, race or creed, affords *in the aggregate* to all the individuals in the community the maximum of personal freedom in the choice of occupation. When the occupational rate is accompanied, as I suggest that it should be wherever practicable, by the general requirement, from all aspirants to employment in each occupational grade, of suitable technical qualifications to ensure at least a prescribed minimum of efficiency, this enhancement of individual liberty is further increased. But this is on the assumption that every one counts as one and only as one, with "equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"; and on the further assumption that the sole measure of the right or claim to employment shall be individual capacity or fitness to perform the service required with a greater net efficiency than any other candidate. It is suggested that the interest of the community requires the acceptance of these assumptions.

This brings us up against the demands of those who realise that this concentration of all the force of competition upon fitness for the task will prevent the use of other means of securing preference for employment. The enforcement of uniform rates, operating as minima, will prevent, as we have seen, even where no specific qualification is required, the less efficient person for the particular task from ousting a more efficient person by offering to do the work at a much lower rate, or subject to deductions more than compensating for his or her inferiority. In this way, it must be admitted, the liberty of the less efficient will

be restricted, just as it is by a law which prohibits the use of force or fraud to turn another person out of his place. But the restriction will only be, for the sake of the greater freedom to all, to the extent of preventing a usurpation of part of the domain of other persons—just as the rule of the road only checks the volition of the reckless driver to the extent of preventing him from diminishing the freedom of volition of all the other drivers. The liberty to get a job by offering to “work under price” is ruled out, just as we all try to rule out favouritism in making appointments in the interest of securing for each vacancy the most efficient candidate. How this purpose is promoted by the enforcement of uniform conditions and technical qualifications may be illustrated from the case of the Sanitary Inspectors. When these officers could be selected without any prescribed qualifications, men got appointments through all sorts of influences, on grounds of personal relationship, political partizanship, denominational or masonic connections, personal need, or even the burden of a large family. When it was made necessary that all candidates should have an identical professional qualification—a prescribed certificate of proficiency for the duties of the office—the candidates who relied on all the other claims found themselves precluded from applying. It cannot be denied that, to the great advantage of the public service, their freedom to compete for these particular situations was impaired. But they were allowed the same liberty as other men to compete in professional efficiency for the Sanitary Inspectorships; or to compete as they chose for the other situations which the newly appointed Sanitary Inspectors had left vacant. What they were prevented from doing was impairing the liberty of the candidates who competed in respect of a particular professional qualification which it was deemed advisable to encourage. The freedom which the enforcement of uniform minimum rates promotes and positively maximises is the freedom of each person, male or female, tall or short, to get to the occupation for which that person has the greatest capacity, aptitude or fitness, measured by net productivity at the particular task. This maximising of freedom in the aggregate is still further promoted by the insistence on specific qualifications which it is open to all to obtain. All the individual volition that it restrains is the attempt to interfere with this freedom on the part of other persons by using, to oust them from a given job, other influences or inducements than efficiency. Women have suffered too much interference of this kind with their own freedom to get to the occupations for which they are best fitted to wish to claim now the privilege of interfering with the like freedom of others.

(b) *The Effect on Women's Employment.*

It has been suggested that the complete abandonment of the idea of a “woman's rate,” and the resolute enforcement of uniform occupational rates, together with a uniform national minimum, will lead to the exclusion of all women from the better paid occupations, and even to their general exclusion from industrial employment. I find some difficulty in discovering the ground for this suggestion. In the one important industrial occupation in this country in which large numbers of women have long been employed at the same occupational rate as men, namely, cotton weaving, the result has been—notwithstanding Factory Act requirements of exceptional particularity, and an occupational rate in excess of the earnings of many men in other industries—a steady and long-continued increase in the proportion of women employed in the trade, in which the women now form three-fourths of a

powerful mixed Trade Union. In other relatively well-paid occupations, such as waistcoat-making, and embroidery, and in the profession of sick nursing, women making higher earnings than many grades of men in other vocations have maintained almost a monopoly. The outcome of the adoption, during the past two or three decades, of an approximate uniformity of salary between men and women among the great body of primary school teachers in the United States has not been the ousting of women, but, on the contrary, a marked increase in the proportion of women so employed. In England and Wales the approximation to uniformity in the salaries of men and women sanitary inspectors has been coincident with a steady increase in the proportion of women in this growing profession. The same may be said of the general medical practitioners.

The difficulty of any forecast as to the effect of enforcing uniformity of rate, as an occupational minimum, for each vocational grade, irrespective of sex, is our ignorance of the extent to which, in particular occupations, any real difference, all things considered, in efficiency or in net productivity, is coincident with sex. If it is found, in any particular occupational grade, that the mass of women are distinctly inferior in net productivity, all incidental expenses being taken into account, to the common run of men whom the occupational rate attracts, the tendency will be, in such occupational grades, for the great part of the work to fall into the hands of men; but not to the exclusion of such exceptional women as may prove themselves to be, at these particular tasks, superior in net productivity to the average, or even to the least efficient man whom it is desired to employ. On the other hand, if it is proved that in other occupational grades, the mass of men whom the occupational rate attracts are distinctly inferior in net productivity, all expenses being taken into account, to the common run of women, there will be a like tendency for the bulk of the work to be done by women, but not to the exclusion of such among the men who may be attracted by the rate as prove themselves to be equal, in net productivity, to the average woman. In so far as differences in efficiency for particular tasks prove to be generally coincident with differences in sex, there would accordingly tend to be, with uniform rates, a general segregation by sex, most men gravitating to the occupational grades in which they were superior to women, and most women to those in which they were superior to men, but with exceptions on both sides for individuals who had peculiar tastes or aptitudes or who were above or below the common run of their sex. There is no reason to regard this result as otherwise than advantageous to the community; and likewise, in its securing the most advantageous relation between productivity and the efforts and sacrifices involved, to all the persons concerned, not less so in the case of the women than in that of the men.

It may be objected that the expenses involved in a mixing of the sexes in a single occupational grade in any one factory would tend to make this segregation complete, by preventing the taking on of a small minority of exceptional individuals of other than the ruling sex. I suggest that this result will be rare, and will tend to disappear. In few factories of any size is there likely to be only one sex employed. In nearly all industries there are some kinds and grades of work in which women are, and are likely to continue to be employed; and in the majority of cases the employment of women and girls in any part of the factory, on any kind or grade of work, will minimise the inconvenience and extra expense that might otherwise be involved in the intrusion of a few women in the man's part of the enterprise. But we

need not ignore the probability that there may be some cases in which, as at present, the segregation by sex will be absolutely complete; and in certain industries we may conceivably have women's factories and men's factories.

(c) *The Effect on Employment of Young Persons.*

Any provision for a national minimum, or for definite occupational rates, would need to have regard for the rates paid to "young persons," who may be defined as youths of either sex, exempt from full-time attendance at school but not yet entitled to the prescribed wage for adults. The absorption of these young persons in wage-earning occupations, which has been increased by the war, has a very definite bearing on women's wages, because it is, to a large extent, with such young persons that adult women come directly into competition. It was, indeed, definitely suggested to the Committee, on behalf of the railway companies, that it would be quite a proper thing to fix the wages for adult women in locomotive repair shops *at the same rate as that for lads*, namely, seven to ten shillings per week.*

I consider that it is essential, in the interest of the community, that the "young person" should be dealt with entirely as a future citizen, and not as an independent wage-earner. Any productive work by the non-adult should be, if not a part of his or her education, at least strictly subordinate to it. Such young persons will, henceforth, be, irrespective of sex, up to 18 at a continuation school for a prescribed number of hours per week, which we look to see progressively increased. Industrial employment outside these hours ought, it is clear, to be of an educational character, designed to equip the boy or girl for adult work. I suggest that where young persons are allowed to be employed in industry, there should normally be a definite obligation on the employer, if not in the nature of an apprenticeship, at any rate to provide a prescribed technological training. Where that is done, to the satisfaction of the Local Education Authority, and, as I would suggest, also to that of the Advisory Committee of the Employment Exchange, there is a case for the payment of lower rates than those prescribed for adult workers. Instruction forms part of the hire.

On the other hand, where no such obligation to give instruction is placed on the employer, and where no such instruction is, in fact, given—the youth being taken on only as "cheap labour"—I see no reason why anything less should be paid to youths of either sex than the equivalent of the national minimum for the hours actually spent in industrial work. The cost of food, clothing and lodging for growing boys and girls between 14 and 18 is practically no less than that of men or women of 21. Their other requirements in the way of recreation and pocket-money may be smaller, and there is less call on them to save; but, as they are legally prevented from giving full time, their earnings, even at an hourly rate equivalent to the national minimum, will anyhow be much less than those of an adult. I am, therefore, unable to agree with my colleagues in their suggestion that youths of either sex employed in occupations of no educational value should be paid at considerably lower rates—two shillings less than the basic rate for each year under 18—than those which they contemplate even for the unskilled adult. Such a provision is seen at its worst when boys and girls are kept on repetition work, of no educational value whatever, *of the same character as is elsewhere being done by adults*, at piece-work rates considerably less than those earned by the adults, so that

* Statement of evidence of representative of the Railway Executive Committee, 9.12.18.

the employer is actually getting the articles at a lower labour cost by means of this youthful labour, of which he is accordingly tempted to make ever-increasing use, to the manifest injury of the community. For this, as it seems to me, there is no sort of excuse. Any such provision, whilst disregarding every public interest in the training of the future citizen, is but an opening of the door to "cheap labour" in derogation of the standard rate, to which the employer is not entitled.

(d) *The Effect on Unemployment.*

We have, however, to consider the effect of the enforcement of a uniform national minimum and of uniform occupational rates upon unemployment.

We may note, to begin with, that there is nothing in the enforcement of uniform minimum rates over the whole field of industry, instead of leaving the wages of a considerable part of the manual workers to be regulated entirely by individual bargaining, that need to be expected to diminish the aggregate volume of employment. Apart from any sudden dislocation, which we may for the moment leave out of account, the substitution of uniform minimum rates in each occupational grade for individually fixed wages would not, in itself, be calculated to affect either the aggregate amount of demand for commodities and services, or—what is, indeed, the same thing—the aggregate amount of production, and therefore the aggregate demand for labour. Whatever changes might occur in the selling values of particular commodities would presumably be in opposite directions, according as the labour cost in those industries was raised or lowered. But any resorting of operatives that might take place among industries and services more strictly according to their efficiency at particular tasks—and such a re-sorting we have seen to be the general effect of enforcing uniform rates—would presumably tend to augment productivity and thus produce a general lowering rather than any general increase in the cost of production; and would tend, therefore, to an increase both in the aggregate volume of demand and in the aggregate number of persons employed.

What is always happening is a perpetual waxing and waning of particular industries, particular crafts and particular processes, either in this locality or that, or generally throughout a nation; and, consequently, a perpetual shifting of the rate of growth in the aggregate numbers employed in connection with each of them, which may occasionally, in particular cases, amount to decrease. The first effect is a shifting in volume in the aggregate daily recruitment to fill vacancies, with which we are not here concerned. But the alterations in the number of persons who can be employed in each industry, in each craft, or at each process, either in particular localities, or in the nation as a whole, often go beyond what can be adjusted by the contemporary variations in recruiting; and this leads to an actual dismissal of operatives, who are thereby thrown out of work.

When bad trade sets in, or any particular industry has to be restricted, there will be a certain percentage of workers selected to be turned off as unemployed. If the employer has inexorably to pay the basic minimum wage and the standard rate, whatever individuals he employs, whether old or young, male or female, steady or "irregular," he will select for dismissal those who, relatively to the rest, are on the whole the least efficient. This is exactly what, in the interest alike of the community as a whole and of the wage-earning class, we want him to do. If only part of the operatives can be employed, it is the most

efficient who should be retained. It may be that, of the undifferentiated common labour to whom the employer pays the basic minimum wage, he will retain longest the most capable workers in the prime of life, discharging first the unsteady and inefficient of either sex, the elderly, then in certain occupations, even most of the women. Of the workers to whom the employer is paying the standard rate, it may be that in particular occupations he will prefer to discard first the majority of the women, regarding the men, for the most part, as being more efficient. Thus, if women enter upon occupations in which the majority of them are less efficient than the majority of men, and if they get there the same piecework rate as the men, it is probable that the brunt of the burden of unemployment in such occupations may fall upon the women. On the other hand, in other occupations in which the majority of the men whom the occupational rate attracts are, taking all things into account, less efficient than the common run of women in the occupation in question, it is probable that the brunt of the burden of unemployment will fall on the men. In either case, it will be, if uniform rates are maintained, irrespective of sex, those whom the employer regards as, on the whole, the least efficient who will be first dispensed with when the volume of demand falls off. This, it need hardly be said, is exactly what, in the interests of maximum production, is what is desirable. If in any industry, in any locality, or in the nation as a whole, a smaller number of persons can be continued in employment, and some have to stand temporarily idle, it is obviously desirable that it should be, in each case, the most efficient who remain at work, and the least efficient who are set at liberty.

We have here, it will be noted, an emphatic confirmation of the rightness of insisting on the payment to young persons of either sex of the same hourly or piece rates as for the unskilled adult. If, as is often suggested, the employer is allowed to employ boys and girls of 14 to 18 at lower hourly rates than he is paying to his least skilled adults—especially if he is actually getting from such youths the same kind of work as from adults at piecework rates markedly lower—he will, whenever there is a contraction of business, infallibly dismiss the adults in preference to the boys and girls. This actually happens, in fact, in times of industrial depression. Yet can anything more ridiculous be imagined than the fathers being driven to walk the streets in search of work, whilst their sons and daughters continue to be employed at lower rates? It is obvious that, in any well-ordered community—if it puts its boys and girls to non-educational work at all—it is the young people who would be the first to be withdrawn from industrial work, whenever there is less of this to be done, so that these young persons may take advantage of the interval for educational purposes. Put practically, it is much easier to provide for young persons in unemployment than for adults.

I see no reason to assume, taking all occupations together, that it will be the women, as a whole, who will be found to be the least efficient workers; or that the enforcement of uniform rates will lead to any larger proportion of the four or five million women employed in industry and services (other than domestic) being at any time unemployed than of the nine or ten million men. But if a general contraction of industry throughout the community—such, for instance, as now occurs in the periodical years of "slump" in trade—should involve, with the enforcement of uniform rates, the throwing out of work of a larger proportion of women than of men, there would be some compensating advantages. Assuming, as we now may, that adequate

and satisfactory public provision is made for the involuntarily unemployed, temporary unemployment involves, to a woman, usually less suffering and less danger of demoralisation than to a man. She has nearly always domestic work with which to occupy herself usefully. She can be much more easily provided for by enabling her to improve her qualifications in domestic economy, than an unemployed man can be found any other occupation than the demoralising and costly relief works. And there is another economic ground for not deploring the possibility that women might conceivably come to be periodically unemployed for a larger proportion of the time that they give to industrial wage-earning than the men may come to be.

This economic ground is the greater cheapness of providing for the unemployed women than for the unemployed men.

(c) Public Provision for the Unemployed. .

This consideration becomes now of great importance in view of the new attitude adopted by the Government, Parliament and public opinion, towards involuntary unemployment. We have slipped almost unawares into the position of having to find complete maintenance for all those persons for whom the Employment Exchange cannot discover an appropriate situation vacant. At the present moment, what with the extended scope of Unemployment Insurance, the provision for the demobilised army, and that for the discharged civil war workers, probably three-quarters of the whole wage-earning population is entitled, when unemployed, to State Unemployment Benefit. Nor can this be regarded as merely transient. We see no chance of the scope of this provision being narrowed. The definite adoption by the Government of the proposals of the Local Government Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction with regard to the abolition of the Poor Law, necessarily involve the assumption of this responsibility by the Ministry of Labour. Whether the provision is made by some scheme of insurance to which the Government makes a contribution not statutorily limited in amount (as under the National Insurance Act, Part II, as subsequently amended); or whether, as in the present temporary provision for demobilisation, the State Unemployment Benefit is provided directly by the Exchequer, it may, we think, be taken as settled that every person for whom a vacancy cannot be found, which that person can and ought to fill, whether owing to general depression of trade or to a contraction in a particular industry, will henceforth have to be provided with maintenance at the public expense. It becomes, therefore, of great financial importance, not only to the community as a whole, but actually to the National Exchequer, not merely that employment should at all times be found for the largest possible proportion of citizens, and that it should be made, as far as practicable, everywhere continuous, but also, when from time to time involuntary unemployment has not been prevented by the Government, that those grades or classes of persons should be first dispensed with who can be most economically maintained in unemployment, and most advantageously provided for whilst unemployed. This consideration cannot fail to have an important bearing on the proposal for uniform occupational rates, and a uniform national minimum. Even if Unemployment Benefit is given at equal rates for men and women, without any consideration of the higher occupational rates at present earned by most men, the provision of relief works for men, if these have to be resorted to, is, as we have already suggested, much more costly than the provision of domestic economy classes for women. Moreover, as

things are, the children of the unemployed have also to be maintained at the public expense in one form or other; and male wage-earners have undoubtedly on an average many more dependent children than female wage-earners, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer found, to his cost, in the Demobilisation Unemployment Benefit of 1918-9. There is accordingly every reason for the Treasury to wish that it were possible—whenever the Government has failed to prevent the occurrence of unemployment, and has fallen back on the most costly plan of providing maintenance for the unemployed—that the whole of these should be women, who can be periodically unemployed for a spell with much less expense, as well as much less detriment to national well-being than the men can be.

(f) The Effect on the Inefficient.

One of the most important social reactions of the resolute enforcement of uniform minimum rates is, we believe, its continuous influence on the relatively inefficient. From the standpoint of promoting the maximum efficiency of production we have seen that it must be counted to the credit of the enforcement of uniform minimum rates that it is always compelling the employer to pick his workers for quality; and in his filling of vacancies to strive, as he cannot get a "cheap hand," to obtain for the price that he has to pay, greater skill or strength, a higher standard of sobriety and regular attendance, and a superior capacity for responsibility and initiative. The fact that the employer's mind is thus set on getting the best possible workers silently and imperceptibly reacts on the wage earners. The younger workers, knowing that they cannot secure a preference for employment by offering to accept a wage lower than the standard, seek to command themselves by good character, technical skill and general intelligence. I regard this, in the case of women, as of the greatest importance, which will be further intensified by the requirement of technical qualifications for entrance to the several occupational grades. The notion that women can gain admission to relatively well-paid industrial occupations and professional services, if only they can make themselves as efficient as those who now fill such places; and that, in fact, women may even find difficulty in gaining employment at all in any desired occupation unless they are up to a certain level of efficiency, would, I believe, rapidly work marvels in inducing girls and their parents to take seriously the question of technical training or apprenticeship. I can imagine nothing better calculated to cause a rapid and continuous advance in the general efficiency of women than this effect upon their minds of the enforcement of uniform rates, especially where specific qualifications are also required, and—as we must add—the higher level of physical and mental efficiency likely to be promoted by a sufficiency of food.

But we cannot ignore the fact that there are, and must always be some among the women, as among the men, who will be found markedly inferior in efficiency even for the lowest grades of work. There are the physical weaklings and the crippled. There are the feeble-minded and the morally depraved. The "halt, the lame and the blind" are always with us. Their case is nowadays brought sympathetically before us in the persons of the partially disabled soldiers, whom we all want to help into industrial employment. What is to be the position of such relatively inefficient persons under legally enforced minimum conditions of employment?

We see the problem dealt with by the action of the Ministry of Pensions with regard to the settlement in industry of the disabled soldiers.

and that of the Director-General of Demobilisation and Employment with regard to the demobilised army. There is no attempt to displace or evade the standard rate. Any employer who thinks that he can employ ex-soldiers under price finds himself sternly rebuffed. But where there is a demonstrable and definite special disability the man is permitted to accept employment at a prescribed deduction from the standard rate, each case being adjudicated on by a local committee jointly representative of employers and employed. A similar system of "permits," where a distinct and demonstrable disability is proved, has long been employed in connection with the legal minimum rates of wages fixed under the Trade Boards Act, and it has been found to work very satisfactorily. Trade Unions often adopt a similar procedure with regard to their own members who are disabled from earning the standard rate.

I may add that when it is a question of a "permit" to enable an employer to engage a worker of special disability, not at less than the occupational or standard rate, but actually at some deduction from the prescribed national minimum, which secures no more than the requisites of healthy citizenship, the question arises of how is the worker in question to live. In the case of the partially disabled soldier the answer is plain. The Minister of Pensions sees to it that he has, apart from his earnings, not only all the necessary medical and surgical treatment, and educational training that his condition requires, but also a pension from national funds equivalent to the extent of his disability. I cannot refrain from the suggestion that there is a like economic justification for the provision from national funds for workers, whether women or men, whose special disability to earn even the basic national minimum is officially recognised by the grant of "permits" to accept specific deductions from the amount prescribed as requisite for healthy maintenance, not only of any medical or surgical treatment and educational training that their condition requires, but also—at any rate for those among them who have no other resources—pensions proportionate to their industrial disability. It will be noted that this has already been adopted in principle by the announcement as to the new State provision for the indigent blind.

It may be objected that these suggestions afford no way of dealing with the malingerer, or the man who habitually refuses to work, or he who is constitutionally a vagrant. It does not fall within the scope of the Committee to deal with all these problems, which have been explored by other investigators and made the subject of elaborate reports.* But I may observe that the principal difficulty in dealing with such classes has always been the lack of any such systematic organisation of the labour market as would enable them to be offered definite employment on terms commonly recognised as satisfactory. It is significant that when, during the war, the demand for labour became really keen, practically the whole class of vagrants, including those habitually regarded as "workshy," found steady employment, not in the army, for which they were mostly physically unfit, but in remunerative industry. I do not assert that the constant ability of the Employment Exchange to offer a situation at the standard rate to every man or woman suspected of this sort of malingering would solve all problems, though I believe that it would go far. The difficulty of adopting other measures for the treatment of those who will not work lies in the fact that we do not, as yet, make the engaging in a productive occupation a universal

* See *Unemployment*, by Sir William Beveridge; the *Public Organisation of the Labour Market*, by S. and B. Webb; and the Reports of the Poor Law Commission, 1909.

duty. I draw attention to this point, because I feel that it will be impossible to adopt proper measures of treatment of "the workshy," until the community makes it a matter of legal obligation that every adult not mentally or physically disqualified should, irrespective of means, be engaged in "work of national importance"—the sanction being the obvious one of withdrawing, after due warning, the income which makes it possible for such persons to live on the labour of others.

(g) *The Provision for Dependents.*

It will have been seen that the whole argument for a prescribed national minimum and for occupational rates has no reference to any provision for dependents. I see no possibility of making any such provision by means of wages varying in amount according to the actual family obligations of the persons concerned. The employers will not listen to any genuine apportionment of wages according to the number of dependents, because they necessarily insist on limiting the amount that they pay to each operative to the value to themselves of the service performed, and this bears no relation whatever to the number and the costliness of the persons dependent on the several operatives. The organised wage-earners are even more recalcitrant, because any differentiation of wage-rates according to the family obligations of particular operatives must necessarily destroy the standard rates of remuneration for effort on which collective bargaining depends, and with these standard rates and other common rules would eliminate the only lever for a progressive participation in the control of the industries and services in which they spend their working lives. The community could not sanction any such proposal, because it would inevitably lead to the selection, not of the persons who were most efficient for the several tasks, but of those who had the fewest dependents, and whose labour would thus be the cheapest to the employer. This would result, not only in a great decrease in national productivity, owing to the substitution of the less for the more efficient, but actually in the fathers of families being ousted from employment in favour of unmarried men and women. The statesman would be equally unwilling to accept a proposal which, by directly penalising, in the competition to fill vacancies, those candidates who had "encumbrances," could not fail very seriously to accelerate the diminution in the birth-rate.

It is essential, in order to clear the issue, that we should understand precisely what is meant by family obligations. In addition to children, many wage-earners of either sex support, wholly or in part, an invalid wife (or husband), a superannuated father or widowed mother, an orphan brother or sister, aged grandparents, uncles and aunts, often more distant relations and, indeed, in some cases, friends who are crippled or in distress. I do not mention the housekeeping wife because I suggest that she should not be counted as a financial burden on the wage-earning husband. The domestic services that the housekeeping wife renders to her husband—important and valuable as they are—do but correspond with those for which the unmarried man has normally to pay in his outlay on board, lodging, washing and mending, and which the woman wage-earner has equally either to pay for, or else to perform for herself at no less a cost in efforts and sacrifices. If the homekeeping wife has also children to care for, a portion of her maintenance—in so far as she is not housekeeper and domestic servant to her husband—must be deemed to form part of the cost of maintenance of the children, to be provided in whatever way their food and clothing are paid for.

Now, the family obligations with regard to parents and grandparents, brothers and sisters, more distant relations and friends are common to the wage-earners of either sex. It is, indeed, a moot point whether, taking them all together, they amount to more in the case of men than they do in the case of women. It has, for instance, been suggested that wage-earning women, as a whole, pay more towards the support of their parents and other relatives than wage-earning men do. But I suggest that provision for indigent relations ought not to be an individual or family obligation at all, whether the burden falls upon men or on women. It is not desirable that one adult should be dependent on another adult for maintenance any more than for medical assistance. The necessary provision for the aged, the infirm and the sick is a matter of national obligation, to which the sufferer should have a right, independent of the volition of any other person, whether a relative or not. This national obligation is now recognised, though as yet only imperfectly, by the various systems of superannuation, by the Old Age Pensions Act, by the National Insurance Act, by the provision for adult dependents under the War Pensions Act, and by the developments promised under the new Ministry of Health. I propose that this provision should be systematised and completed.

I suggest that in the adoption of any principle whatever for the determination of wages, not merely between men and women, but between any other sections of the wage-earning population, the community must face the necessity of seeing that adequate provision is made for children, not by statistical averages, but case by case.^o The "average" family is, of course, merely a convenient figment of the statisticians, and does not exist in fact. If provision is made, in one way or another for three children, this is very far from securing enough food and adequate conditions of nurture for those households in which there are for years in succession four, five or more children dependent. The nation cannot be satisfied, any more that the children can, with a family or household "average" of rations for the rising generation. Each individual baby has got to be adequately and satisfactorily provided for. This cannot be done under any system of wages; nor can the adoption of any conceivable principle as to the relation between men's and women's wages achieve this end. In the actual course of nature the distribution of children among households varying from none to a dozen or more; the number who are simultaneously dependent on their parents varying from one to more than half a dozen; and the time in each family over which this burden of dependent children extends varying from a year or two to ten times that period—bear, none of them, any relation to the industrial efficiency either of the father or of the mother; or to the wage that either or both of them could obtain through individual bargaining by the higgling of the market; or yet to any actual or conceivable occupational or standard rates to be secured for them either by collective bargaining or legislative enactment.

^o The case was put to the Committee with some indignation by a woman engine cleaner on the North-Eastern Railway Company, getting 12s. 6d. per week less war bonus than the men. "We give," she said, "more satisfaction than the men. We have been told times out of number we do more than they do and much better too . . . and we have the same responsibilities. I have exactly the same and more than what a single man would have. I am a widow with six children to support and I have got more responsibility than a single man would have doing the same work, and he would get more money than I do." (Shorthand Notes of Evidence, 16.12.18).

We heard the same from employers. "One woman came to me a little while ago," said the manager of a metal works, "and she said that it was an outrageous thing that she should only have the same money as the other girls, not one was married, and she had five children" [dependent on her.]

These facts become to-day of grave social importance in view of the continuous and rapidly accelerating fall in the birth-rate—a fall plainly differential in its incidence in all classes as between the thrifty, prudent and thoughtful on the one hand, and on the other, those of more casual life. In view of the narrow penury of the great mass of the households of the nation; in view, moreover, of the relatively low rate at which any national minimum is likely, at least for some years, to be fixed, I can see no practical way of ensuring anything like adequate provision for all the children that are born, or all that the community would wish to have born, except by some much more considerable national endowment than can be contemplated in any extension of the present maternity benefit. I think that if the nation wishes the population of Great Britain to be maintained without recourse to alien immigration on a large scale, it will be necessary for the State to provide, through the parents, for the maintenance of the children during the period of their economic dependence. A children's allowance on the scale of the present separation allowance, payable to the mothers in all the households of the United Kingdom, would cost something like 250 millions sterling annually, which (as may be mentioned by way of comparison only) would be equal to about a half of the proceeds of the existing Income Tax, Super-tax and Excess Profits Duty.

It has been suggested that this charge might be thrown, at any rate in part, upon employers of labour by a weekly stamp duty analogous to the charge under the National Insurance Acts, of an identical sum for each person employed, of whatever age or sex. The proceeds, including possibly a Government subvention sufficient to cover the average periods of unemployment, sickness or other "lost time"—seeing that there must obviously be no corresponding interruption in the children's maintenance—could then be distributed, subject to the necessary conditions, at the rate of so much per week per child, through the local health or local education authorities, to all mothers of children under the prescribed age.

Such a method of raising the funds would, however, have various economic drawbacks, and would probably be resented by organised labour no less than by the employers. It would, I think, be better for the Children's Fund—the "bairns' part" in the national income—to be provided from the Exchequer (that is to say, by taxation) like any other obligation of the community.

I recognise that a "Children's Fund" of this nature does not fall within the scope of this Committee, and I only make the suggestion in order to illustrate what is involved in any proposal for a national minimum based only on the cost of full citizenship for a single adult.

(h) The better Distribution of the National Product according to the Efforts and Needs of Individual Citizens.

Finally, we have to consider how far the community can afford to pay the national minimum and the occupational rates to which our principles may lead us. We have seen that there is neither justice nor economic expediency—indeed, no possibility—of determining occupational rates by those paid in other countries, or of seeking to standardise them by considerations of foreign competition. What is clear is that no more can be paid in wages and salaries than the community itself produces—no more, indeed, than its aggregate net product, after making all necessary deductions for depreciation, provision of whatever additional capital is required, and expenses of every kind. It will thus be apparent that any enquiry into what may be the necessary limit to occupational

rates, still less any attempt to reduce to order the existing chaos, and to bring about a closer correspondence between the several rates and the respective efforts and needs, could not stop at those of the manual workers alone. The whole army of teachers, clerks, scientific workers,, ministers of religion and minor officials of the Public Departments and local authorities—now approaching, in the aggregate, a million in number—are at least equally concerned. Moreover, it would scarcely be possible to draw a line between different occupational rates, so that the scales of salaries of bishops, judges and generals would come equally under consideration with those of curates, policemen and private soldiers. But this is not all. No small part of labour unrest, and of the indignation about wages, is due to the resentment felt at the profits, possibly exaggerated by rumour, which particular classes of business men and particular individuals are able to take for themselves. We need not necessarily conclude that these profits are in any given case in excess of what would be justified in comparison with other occupational rates, in relation to the efforts and needs of the persons concerned. But it would plainly be impossible to undertake the enquiry into how to bring about a closer correspondence between incomes and efforts and needs—still less to prove that particular occupational rates were unduly high—without bringing equally under review all the personal incomes of the nation, including those which the Commissioners of Inland Revenue class as unearned. I suggest, indeed, that the nation's maximum productivity will not be secured until it is demonstrated that the entire net product is being distributed, with due regard to relative efforts and needs, in such a way to confer the utmost benefit upon the community as a whole, and therefore upon each class within it.

PART II.

THE WAR PLEDGES OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO THE WAGES OF WOMEN TAKING THE PLACE OF MEN.

I regret that I cannot agree with the Report of my colleagues upon the further reference to the Committee, as to whether or not the Government has fulfilled its pledges with regard to the payment of women employed in war work in substitution for men. The Majority Report fails to deal with the straight issue upon which the Committee was required to give a judgment, namely, whether or not the Government has fulfilled its pledges. I cannot discover from the Majority Report whether or not my colleagues consider that the Treasury Agreement of 19th March, 1915, contained any pledge as to the wages of women employed in war work in place of men. Assuming that there was any such pledge, either in the Treasury Agreement, or in the contemporary interpretation of it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I cannot discover whether, in the opinion of my colleagues, this pledge was or was not fulfilled, notably in respect of the advances of wages made to the men but withheld from the women. The impression which the Majority Report conveys to me is one of indecision. It may almost be said that the verdict of my colleagues upon the Government is: "Not guilty; but don't do it again."

I cannot agree with this ambiguous conclusion. The Committee was expressly directed to reply to the plain question of whether or not the

Government had fulfilled its pledges to women employed as substitutes for men. My judgment is that the pledge embodied in the Treasury Agreement included a guarantee that the women substitutes should receive the same pay as the men for whom they were substituted; that the Government did not immediately or universally fulfil the pledge, and that adequate steps were not taken to get the undertaking carried out by the Government contractors; and that it was subsequently departed from, to a very material extent, by the series of Orders and Awards under which wages were regulated. The two main breaches of the pledge were (1) the refusal of the man's rate of pay to women substituted for semi-skilled and unskilled men, and kept at time wages; and (2) the subsequent refusal to all women replacing men on war work, whether skilled or not, on time wages or piece-work rates, of the advances conceded to the men—there being given to the women a different series of advances of much smaller amount. By these breaches of the Government pledge a large number of women employed on war work in substitution for men suffered very heavy loss, amounting to many millions of pounds sterling.

I regret to be compelled to go over some of the ground covered in the Majority Report, but I feel it necessary to set out in detail my reasons for these conclusions.

CHAPTER I.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT PLEDGES WERE.

The first step must clearly be to determine precisely what the Government pledges were. The Committee had produced to it the Treasury Agreement of 19th March, 1915, which is acknowledged to be the principal document in the case. That Agreement dealt also with (a) the restoration of Trade Union conditions; (b) Priority of reinstatement for men displaced; and (c) settlement of differences. These matters do not concern the present Enquiry.

The only clauses of the Treasury Agreement relating to wages or earnings were in the following terms:—

Clause IV. "Where the custom of the shop is changed during the war by the introduction of semi-skilled men, to perform work hitherto performed by a class of workmen of higher skill, the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work."

Clause V. "The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected thereby, the necessary readjustments shall be made so that they can maintain their previous earnings."

Considerable differences have arisen as to the meaning to be attached to these words. All the representatives of Trade Unions giving evidence before the Committee, whether these Unions were composed of skilled men, or of semi-skilled and unskilled men, or of women, were unanimous in maintaining that what was agreed to on this occasion was that, where any new class of labour was introduced to perform work previously done by another class of operatives, the newly-introduced class should be paid the same wages as had previously been paid to the class of operatives by whom the work had been done. It is not denied, on behalf of the Government, that under various departments, and in respect of certain

classes of operatives and certain forms of remuneration, this practice has not been adopted. The representatives of Government Departments giving evidence before the Committee differed among themselves as to the explanation of, or the justification for, this action. Some of them maintained that the Treasury Agreement contained no pledge with regard to women's wages. Others maintained that their own Departments did not come within its terms. Others, again, whilst admitting that a pledge had been given in the Treasury Agreement, maintained that the pledge referred only to workers paid in a particular manner, or only to a certain portion of their remuneration.

The Committee has to answer the question only as regards the wages of women, not those of men; and with regard to women, only in respect to those put to do work previously done by men, not women workers generally.

The following questions have therefore to be decided:—

I, DID THE TREASURY AGREEMENT CONTAIN ANY PLEDGE AS TO WOMEN'S WAGES?

The first contention arises on the point whether the Treasury Agreement contained *any pledge whatever* as to the wages to be given to women. It may seem incredible that this should be disputed; but—

(a) it was stated by Mr. Campbell, who was deputed to give evidence on behalf of the Ministry of Munitions, that the *first* undertaking by the Government with regard to women's wages was Mr. Lloyd George's speech to Mrs. Pankhurst's Deputation in July, 1915; thus ignoring the Treasury Agreement altogether;

(b) it was specifically contended by Mr. Wolfe, who was also deputed to give evidence on behalf of the Ministry of Munitions, that the object of the Treasury Agreement "was not to secure any particular rate of wages to the substituted labour, *whether female or semi-skilled*, but simply to provide that if a skilled man were shifted from his present work to other work in consequence of importation of women, *he* should get as high a rate on his new as on his former job. . . . No reference is made to the rates payable to the women. *Therefore, by the strict letter of the Agreement the Government are not bound to pay the imported woman any specific rate; they are merely bound to see that the men on whose work women are employed shall not receive less than the customary rate for the job.*"

On the other hand there is the fact that the Treasury Agreement makes, in Clause 5, *no distinction between what is guaranteed as regards male and female labour*. What was promised, so the Trade Unions believe, is that the rates paid to the substituted labour should be those customarily paid *for that class of work*, as distinguished from *that class of operative*.

It must be remembered that the Agreement was made not merely with the Trade Unions representing the skilled men, but also with those representing the semi-skilled men and the women—such, for instance, as the Workers' Union, the Gasworkers and General Labourers' Union (now the National Union of General Labourers) and the National Amalgamated Union of Labour—who can hardly be supposed to have imagined that *no pledge whatever* was being given as to the wages of the women who were included in their own membership, and who were to be brought

in to do work previously done by men, and that no pledge was given as to the maintenance of the rate for the job from which their male members were being displaced. If no pledge whatever was being given in respect to the wages of the members of these Trade Unions, why were they made parties to the Agreement? What consideration was being given to Unions of semi-skilled men in return for the permission to dilute, which these Unions, like those representing the skilled craftsmen, were conceding to the Government?

Moreover, the Agreement was *immediately* understood by the women as embodying *some* definite pledge as regards the wages to be paid to women replacing men; and that this interpretation was correct was promptly confirmed by Mr. Lloyd George, *writing as the first signatory of the Agreement on behalf of the Government*. Thus, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, quoting the above clause of the Treasury Agreement in a letter to the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade, dated 25th March, 1915—the *very day on which the Agreement was published*—went on to say “the wording of these sentences is ambiguous. Does it mean that, in the case of women, as is clearly stated in the case of semi-skilled men, that if they are employed to do work hitherto performed by workmen of higher skill, the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work? Or are we to understand that this provision made in the case of the semi-skilled men is not made in the case of the women?”

The Prime Minister replied at once in the following letter. He did *not* say that the Treasury Agreement contained *no undertaking whatever* as to the wages to be paid to the imported women (as is now contended by Mr. Campbell and Mr. Wolfe on behalf of the Ministry of Munitions). He gave what was taken to be an authoritative explanation of the Agreement on this point. His letter was as follows:

Treasury Chambers, Whitehall.
26th March, 1915.

“Dear Miss Pankhurst,

The words which you quote would guarantee that women undertaking the work of men would get the same piece rates as men were receiving before the date of this Agreement. That, of course, means that if women turn out the same quantity of work as men employed on the same job they will receive exactly the same pay.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd.) D. LLOYD GEORGE.”

It must be noted that this is not an *obiter dictum*. It is avowedly an explanation given in an official capacity by one of the parties to an Agreement, immediately after its conclusion, in reply to a specific enquiry as to its meaning.

It was inevitable that this public declaration, by the principal signatory of the Treasury Agreement, in reply to a specific enquiry as to what it was that the Government had pledged itself to, should be understood as an authoritative statement of its meaning. We are not aware that Mr. Lloyd George has ever repudiated the pledge thus given on behalf of the Government.

It may be added that, whilst the representatives of the men were naturally desirous of securing for their members that they themselves should suffer no diminution of their own earnings, these Trade Unions were equally concerned to insist that, if new classes of labour, whether male or female, were to be imported into the jobs customarily done by

their members, the imported labour should be paid for by the employer at the rates that he would have had to pay for the men who had previously done the jobs. That this, and nothing short of this, was the Trade Union claim, was made abundantly clear in the first day's Conference which resulted in the Treasury Agreement. Mr. Brownlie, the Chairman of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, handed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer the "Shells and Fuses Agreement" which had just been made (5th March, 1915), between the Engineering Employers' Federation and the three principal Engineering Trade Unions. This Agreement provided (clause 6) that "*where semi-skilled or female labour is employed in place of skilled labour the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district obtaining for the operations performed.*" "The object of this clause," said Mr. Brownlie, "is this. Where we agree to semi-skilled or female labour being brought in for the production of shells and fuses, the piece work rates and day rates shall be observed as the basis of payment, and piece work rates shall be paid for the operation in which they are engaged. *This will avoid any attempt to reduce piece work prices for the labour engaged.*"

It is to be noted that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, which has throughout taken the leading part in the negotiations, was not and has never regarded itself as representative of any but the skilled engineers. Its membership includes no women, and none of the unskilled men employed in engineering workshops. It does include a small minority of the semi-skilled men, but these are not represented on its Executive Committee, nor yet among its officials. On the present occasion the A.S.E. was irresistibly pressed to abandon, for the period of the war, any policy of exclusion; and it had, in compliance with this pressure, just concluded with the engineering employers an Agreement (the Shells and Fuses Agreement), in which, for the first time, it had made stipulations—to which the employers had specifically agreed—as to the wages to be paid to the semi-skilled men and women when employed on work previously done by the skilled men. It must be borne in mind that, in negotiations with Trade Unions, the word "semi-skilled" is now always used as inclusive of what the layman calls "unskilled." The latter word is nowadays habitually omitted, because it is resented by the workmen referred to, who claim that no occupation is without its own skill.

It does not seem to be understood why the men's Trade Unions should have concerned themselves about getting the women paid the same wages as the men had received, where they did the same work. It must always be remembered that the Trade Unionists expected to come back to these jobs after the war. Moreover, what they wished was that, even during the war, there should be no economic inducement either to the Employer or to the Government to substitute women (or new classes of men) for the men who had previously done the work. It might be necessary to effect the substitution, because of the shortage of such men; but, the essence of the Agreement, as understood by the Trade Unions, was that there was to be in the substitution no pecuniary profit, and no reduction of labour-cost, either to the employer or to the Government. The principle was that the same wage was to be paid for the same work, *by whomsoever the work was done.*

The Trade Union representatives at the Treasury Conference were fully of the opinion that the Government had agreed with them on the point. When the Shells and Fuses Agreement was produced by Mr. Brownlie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd George) remarked, "I look with great interest at the document he has given me. I think it is a

very hopeful document. I think you have tackled this very difficult matter in a thoroughly businesslike way. This seems to me to be the lines upon which something could be done; and it is done in a very liberal and patriotic spirit."

The contention maintained during the first few months of our Enquiry by the representatives of the Ministry of Munitions that the Treasury Agreement contained no undertaking whatever as to the wages to be paid to the women thus involves the suggestion that the Trade Unions—after producing the Shells and Fuses Agreement as a model, and after the Government had praised it as a model—concluded another agreement with the Government covering only dilution by male labour, whereas in the Shells and Fuses Agreement, the agreement was (to use Mr. Brownlie's words) that "where semi-skilled or female labour is employed in place of skilled labour, the rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district obtaining for the operations performed."

There is no doubt in my mind, on the evidence, that the Treasury Agreement *did* include a specific undertaking by the Government as to the wages to be paid to the women employed on work heretofore done by men—an undertaking immediately explained as a guarantee to the women by Mr. Lloyd George, and published for all to read, and never publicly repudiated by him, either as Chancellor of the Exchequer or as Minister of Munitions or as Prime Minister.

If additional confirmation were required, this was eventually supplied to the Committee. When, at last, the Committee got access to the various drafts made in the course of the negotiations, it became clear that the phrase "shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job"—on which the representatives of the Government were sometimes relying to prove that the obligation was only to the workman who was displaced—was actually understood by the negotiators themselves to relate to *the job to be done by the workers who were newly introduced*. This is not referred to in the Report of my colleagues. In one of the drafts the word "piece" is interpolated before "rates," thus showing that what was being talked about was the job *from* which the skilled worker was to be removed, not that *to* which he might be transferred. It will be plain that the latter job (because of its inevitable difference) could not possibly carry the same piece work rate as the job from which he was displaced. This, to my mind, settles the matter, and confirms Mr. Lloyd George's statement that the Treasury Agreement gave the women a guarantee. We may add that, at the very end of our enquiry, this view (in contradiction of that taken by Mr. Campbell and Mr. Wolfe of the Ministry of Munitions) was taken by Sir Charles Harris of the War Office, and Dr. Macnamara, of the Admiralty, who had been present at the Treasury Conference on behalf of the Government, and also by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Mosses, who had been present on behalf of the workmen. *In fact, no one present at the negotiations—so far as the Committee could ascertain—took any contrary view on this point.*

I cannot ascertain from the Majority Report whether my colleagues do or do not agree on this point with the view thus demonstrated.

II. WAS ANY PLEDGE GIVEN IN THE TREASURY AGREEMENT AS TO WOMEN PAID BY TIME?

It will have been noted that what the Treasury Agreement guaranteed to the women put on men's work was "the rates customarily paid for the job." It has been contended on behalf of the Ministry of Munitions that—even if the Government gave any pledge as to the wages to be

paid to women put on men's work, which was denied by the representatives of the Ministry—at any rate the phrase used in the Treasury Agreement absolutely confines the undertaking, whatever it was, to the wages of women employed at piecework rates; and that no undertaking whatever was given with regard to the wages of women, paid by time, on work previously done by men, whether skilled or unskilled. It is urged that this reading of the Treasury Agreement is supported by the Prime Minister's letter of 26th March, 1915, which refers only to "piece-rates."

It must be observed that, if Mr. Lloyd George's letter of the 26th March, 1915, is relied on by the Ministry of Munitions as an authoritative exposition of the Government pledge in this respect, it can hardly be repudiated as an authoritative exposition of the pledge in respect of a guarantee of wages to the women.

It is also to be noted that on this contention the women employed on the premium bonus system, which is certainly not that of piece-work rates, would be excluded from the scope of the Treasury Agreement equally with those employed at time-rates.

Such a limitation of the Treasury Agreement, which would have left the employer free to pay the women whatever wage he chose, provided that he employed them at time-rates, or on the premium bonus system, would have been quite inconsistent with the Trade Union demand that the rates for the jobs to which they were expecting to return should be maintained during their absence, and also that there should be meanwhile no economic inducement to the substitution of women for men, and no reduction in labour-cost to the employer or to the Government. The Trade Unions certainly never understood that they were leaving open any such loophole.

Nor is there any such limitation to workers employed at piece in the Treasury Agreement. It must be remembered that, in the engineering industry at the date of the Agreement, the great majority of the men were employed at time wages; and "the rates customarily paid for the job"—the rates that they were anxious to maintain undiminished during their absence from the jobs—were time-rates. As a matter of fact the matter was not left in doubt at the Conference which resulted in the Treasury Agreement. The very point had already been discussed and settled between the Engineering Employers' Federation and the three principal Trade Unions in the "Shells and Fuses Agreement," which was handed in, accepted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ultimately made the basis of the Treasury Agreement. In explaining the Shells and Fuses Agreement the following conversation stands in shorthand notes:—

"Mr. Brownlie: The Engineering Employers' Federation have agreed to this.

Hon. E. S. Montagu: It only applies to piece-work.

Mr. Brownlie: District rates and the rates paid for the operation for which they are engaged.

Mr. Walter Runciman: Time as well as price.

Mr. Brownlie: *It applies to day wages, piece-work wages and premium bonus times.*"

It was after this point had thus been made quite clear to the Government that Mr. Lloyd George gave the praise to the Shells and Fuses Agreement already quoted.

In view of the fact that the Shells and Fuses Agreement, thus specifically explained as securing to women substitutes the men's time wages and premium bonus times, as well as their piece-work wages, was

definitely accepted by the Government representatives as the basis for the Treasury Agreement, the representatives of the Ministry of Munitions were plainly mistaken in contending, both that there was *no* undertaking whatever as to the wages to be paid to women substituted for men; and also, that an undertaking was given, but given only in respect of women employed at piece-work rates. As I have already mentioned, the Committee had the advantage, at the very end of its enquiry, of seeing the various drafts through which the Agreement passed in the course of the discussion. These successive drafts, in my view, complete the demonstration that the Agreement, in its final form, applied to all wages, whether computed by piecework, by the premium bonus or other system, or by time. In one of the earlier drafts, the word "rates" in Clause 5 is qualified and limited by the insertion, in pencil, of the word "piece," thus showing that the question had been raised. In the final form of the Agreement the word "piece" is omitted from Clause 5 (as also from Clause 4). When we remember Mr. Brownlie's explicit repudiation—quoted above—of the Government suggestion that what was in question was only the piece-work rate, the deliberate omission of the limiting word "piece" after it had been provisionally introduced can only be understood as leaving the word "rates" to mean, what it habitually does mean in wage discussions, both time-rates and piece-rates, and, indeed, also the "times" or other factors in more complicated systems of payment by results. My colleagues do not notice this point, although they mention a similar omission of the word "piece" in Clause 4, *which they take as proving that the word "rates" in Clause 4 does include time-rates as well as piece-work rates and premium bonus times*. I agree with them in their own contention as to Clause 4; and I am unable to understand why they do not draw the same inference as to Clause 5.

Moreover, the contrary interpretation is inconsistent with the very terms of the Agreement itself. Whatever undertaking was given by the Agreement with regard to women's wages, which can only have been by Clause 5, *was given in identical terms with regard to the wages of substituted women, substituted semi-skilled men, and even substituted skilled men of another craft*. The undertaking with regard to all three classes is contained in a single sentence in Clause 5, which must mean the same for them all. "The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions"—which enabled the employer to substitute skilled men of other crafts—"or the admission of semi-skilled or female labour, shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job." Can it be contended that this sentence means that if the employer chose to pay the substituted labour by time wages or on the premium bonus system, he was free to pay whatever time-rate, or to fix whatever premium bonus times for their jobs that he chose? That if the employer put a brass-worker to do fitter's work, and chose to pay him by time, he could pay him as little per hour as he chose? If the employer promoted a machine minder to take the place of a skilled turner, and put him on time-rates, could he make these as low as he thought fit? Similarly, if an employer put a woman at time-wages to do the work of a skilled engineer, was he free to fix her weekly wage at what he liked? According to the wording of the Treasury Agreement the employer's obligation, *whatever it may be construed to be*, is the same in all three cases.

It has been suggested that because in Clause 4 protection is given to "the usual rates of the district for that class of work," when semi-skilled men are introduced, Clause 5 cannot be understood as giving

any protection to "the rates customarily paid for the job," when semi-skilled men are introduced. I can see no inconsistency between the two clauses, though there is a certain redundancy. There were three classes of substitutes. One only of these is dealt with in Clause 4. The other two—skilled men of another craft, and all "female labour"—are specifically dealt with in Clause 5; and, for the sake of completeness, the third class—that of semi-skilled men—is also mentioned, the rates in all three classes of substitution being, by this clause, afforded an identical guarantee.

The Trade Union insistence that there should be no economic inducement to substitution, and no lessening of labour cost on such substitution, *either to the employer or to the Government*, applies alike to all three classes of substitutes, and it was so expressed in Clause 5 of the *Treasury Agreement*. The undertaking in Clause 5 therefore applied alike to workers, both male and female, employed at time-rates, or under systems of payment by results, whether premium bonus or piece work.

This does not mean that women, or semi-skilled men, or skilled men of another craft—who under the Treasury Agreement were all to receive the rates "customarily paid for the job"—must necessarily receive straight away the same money as the skilled man. This is explained in the second sentence of Mr. Lloyd George's letter. "That of course, means that if the women turn out the same quantity of work as men employed on the same job, they will receive exactly the same pay." This, it will be noted, is not confined to piece workers. The word "pay" is the widest possible term. It is invariably used for time wages, even more invariably than for piece-work rates. Mr. Lloyd George actually confirmed this interpretation in his pledge to the deputation of women on the Victoria Embankment on the 17th July, 1915. He said "as far as piece work is concerned, we have agreed that a woman shall be paid exactly the same price as a man for any piece of work she turns out. That is perfectly fair. It would not be fair to give, say 2s. 6d. to a man for doing that, and give 1s. 6d. to a woman, so we have agreed to pay exactly the same rate of wages for piece work to women as to men."

It is now contended on behalf of the Ministry of Munitions that the request for the same wages on time work "was firmly refused as regards time work (not being fully skilled work) by Mr. Lloyd George, when it was again proposed by Mrs. Pankhurst in July, 1915." My colleagues take this view in their Report. But the shorthand report shows that Mr. Lloyd George did not, on that occasion, refuse, "firmly," or otherwise, to admit equality of pay, or equality of time wages for equal work. What he went on to say related only to *the period during which women were learning a new job*, when it is not contended that they should be paid the full time rates of the men they replace. "For some time," said Mr. Lloyd George, "women will be unskilled and untrained, and they cannot turn out as much work as the men who have been at it for a long time. Therefore—note this "therefore"—we cannot give the same time rate to them; but we can give them the same piece rate. . . . There should be a fixed minimum," he added, even during this period, when they were not turning out equal work; and the reason he gave confirms the Trade Union interpretation of the Treasury Agreement, "which would guarantee that we should not utilise the services of women merely in order to get cheap labour. That is really what you want." There is accordingly no reason to infer, from Mr. Lloyd George's statement on this occasion that either time workers, or premium bonus workers were outside the scope of the Treasury Agreement, as regards "equality of pay" for equal work, *otherwise than for the time*

during which women were "unskilled and untrained." Note Mr. Lloyd George's governing words "for some time." Why did he thus expressly limit his rejection of the request for "the same time rate" to women as to men, by the use of the words "for some time," if he really meant, as is now suggested on behalf of the Ministry of Munitions, "for all time." He was not explaining to the women that women, as women, however skilled and trained, were *never* to get the same time rate as men.

Finally, it may be pointed out that when the Ministry of Munitions came to give effect to the Treasury Agreement in framing the Order L.2. it did not take up the position that no pledge whatever had been given in the Agreement with regard to the wages of women employed at time rates, any more than to those of women employed at piece work rates. I think my colleagues are in error in stating that it did so. On the contrary, with regard to "Women employed on work customarily done by fully skilled tradesmen"—just the work in which there might be supposed to be the greatest unreason in paying the woman novices the same as the experienced men—it was expressly provided that "the women shall be paid the *time rates* of the tradesmen whose work they undertake. Overtime and night shift and Sunday and holiday allowances payable to men shall also be made to women."

It will be within the recollection of those who were engaged in drafting the Order L.2., that this quite exceptional and unprecedented provision, securing to this class of women precisely the same *time rates* and time allowances as the men, was inserted solely because the A.S.E. insisted that it had been conceded by the Treasury Agreement, and refused to act on that Agreement until the Ministry of Munitions yielded the point. The fact that the A.S.E. was concerned to stand out only in respect of the women who were to displace its own members; and that none of the Trade Unions of semi-skilled workers were alive to what was happening, and had then no opportunity of being equally insistent, does not affect the point. If this is admitted, it disposes of the contention that the Treasury Agreement contained no pledge whatever with regard to men employed at time wages or on premium bonus systems, just as it disposes of the contention put forward on behalf of the Ministry of Munitions that the Treasury Agreement contained no pledge by the Government with regard to women's wages at all, whether by time or by systems of payment by results.

It may be observed that so far as there was any financial justification for withholding from the women the same rates of pay as the men, on the ground that it led to women earning wages quite out of proportion to those of women elsewhere, or even to those of other classes of men, this was found to apply far less to the concession of equal time wages—which was actually made by the Order L.2. as regards women employed on skilled work—than to women employed at piece-work rates or on the premium bonus system. It was these women, to whom the Ministry of Munitions unhesitatingly conceded the same piece-work rates as to the men, who created a scandal by their reported earnings of £5 to £10 per week. There would have been no such scandal had the women employed at time wages, in substitution for the semi-skilled men, been granted the same time wages as those men had received.

III. DID THE TREASURY AGREEMENT EMBODY ANY PLEDGE WITH REGARD TO THE WAGES OF WOMEN SUBSTITUTED FOR SEMI-SKILLED MEN?

It must accordingly be plain that the Treasury Agreement (a) applied to the wages of semi-skilled men and women employed on work previously done by skilled men; and (b) it embodied some pledge as to the wages of

these particular semi-skilled men and women. But it has been contended on behalf of the Ministry of Munitions, that it embodied no pledge whatever with regard to the wages of women employed on work previously done by *semi-skilled men* (including what the layman calls unskilled men).

This contention is opposed to what was understood by the Trade Union representatives. It is inconsistent with the action of the Government in inviting to the Conference the Trade Unions representing the unskilled and semi-skilled men. It finds no support in the wording of the Treasury Agreement.

There is absolutely no limitation in the terms of the Treasury Agreement to work previously done by skilled men. The clause runs as follows:— 'The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not adversely affect the rates customarily paid for the job.' The greater part of the "female labour" to be brought into the engineering shops was to be employed on work previously done by what the Amalgamated Society of Engineers regarded as semi-skilled men. It was, indeed, very generally held by the workmen at that time, as it was by many employers, that there would be a comparatively small number of women—if, indeed, any—who could be employed on work previously done by skilled men. The Trade Unions representing the semi-skilled men (such as the Workers' Union, the Gas Workers and General Labourers' Union and the National Amalgamated Union of Labour) were equally parties to the Treasury Agreement with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. They had the same reason as the Amalgamated Society of Engineers had to insist, for the protection of their own members who were semi-skilled men, that, if substitution were necessary, owing to the shortage of men, there should be no economic inducement to the substitution, and no reduction of labour-cost either to the employer or to the Government. It was never explained at the Conference that there was any other limitation of the Agreement than those expressed in its terms. The Trade Union representatives fully understood, at the Treasury Conference, that this had been agreed to.

Finally, it may be noted that, in the immediate enquiry by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst as to the meaning of the Agreement, in reply to which Mr. Lloyd George gave an authoritative explanation of its intention and purpose, there was no *hint of a restriction of its scope to "work previously done by skilled men,"* which would have excluded probably nine-tenths of the women on whose behalf the question was asked. In fact, such replacement of men by women as was then taking place was almost wholly that of semi-skilled men. The substitution of women for skilled men did not begin, in any appreciable numbers, until much later. The Government pledge, whatever Mr. Lloyd George understood it to be, was therefore certainly meant, at the date of his letter, to apply to women replacing semi-skilled men. Nor was there any suggestion of such a limitation in Mr. Lloyd George's declaration three months later to the great procession of women on the Victoria Embankment, the vast majority of whom could not have been replacing "skilled" men. On both occasions Mr. Lloyd George made it clear that the Government had pledged itself to certain terms for women's labour employed *on work previously done by men*. In neither case did he make any distinction between women substituted for skilled men, and women substituted for unskilled men. "It would not be fair," he said, "to give, say 2s. 6d. to a man for doing that, and give 1s. 6d. to a woman." This surely applies equally whether the work had previously been done by skilled

men or by semi-skilled men. When he referred to piece work, Mr. Lloyd George was even more definite and explicit. "As far as piece-work is concerned," he said, "we have agreed that a woman should be paid exactly the same price as a man for *any* piece of work she turns out. This is perfectly fair." "Any piece of work" must surely include work of any degree of skill. Can it seriously be contended, *in face of this authoritative interpretation of the Treasury Agreement by the principal signatory thereto*—first on the very day after its publication, and again three months later—that the Government pledge was confined to the relatively small proportion of women who were employed on work previously done by *skilled* men?

I cannot understand what decision my colleagues give on this point. They leave the Treasury Agreement as to the meaning of which they appear to form no definite opinion; and they discuss the question as though it rested on the subsequent Circulars and Orders of the Ministry of Munitions. But the allegation is that these Circulars and Orders did not carry out the Treasury Agreement. By whomsoever these Circulars and Orders were "accepted," they were never accepted or agreed to by the whole body of Trade Unions with whom the Treasury Agreement was made; nor were they even proposed or explained as being in substitution for that Agreement. They are accordingly not relevant to the issue.

IV.—DID THE TREASURY AGREEMENT APPLY ONLY TO THE WORK DEALT WITH BY THE MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS?

It was at first contended on behalf of the War Office that the Treasury Agreement did not concern the work dealt with by that Department; and that it was accordingly not bound by its terms; which the War Contract Department—established after its date—admittedly took no steps to comply with or to enforce on its contractors. It was, at the very end of the Committee's enquiry, explained to us that the War Office did, at the time, issue a Circular to its contractors for the making of shells and small arm ammunition, requesting them to comply with the terms of the Treasury Agreement, although we cannot learn that any steps were taken for its enforcement. What happened, we gather, was that when this work was transferred to the Ministry of Munitions, the War Contract Department, which took up the business of the supply of all army requisites not so transferred, took no cognisance of the pledges made by the Government in the Treasury Agreement; and now claims that it was not bound by those pledges.

It may, however, be pointed out that the Treasury Agreement had no particular reference to the making of shells or small-arm ammunition, or to anything else that was subsequently dealt with by the Ministry of Munitions. It was distinctly expressed to apply to "work upon munitions and equipments of war"—a much wider phrase—and also to "other work required for a satisfactory completion of the war"—a phrase which covers almost every operation of the Government and its contractors. It made no exception of any kind of Government work. The question was actually raised by Mr. Gosling whether the draft document dealt only with the manufacture of munitions of war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied "Oh, no." "Or other work required for a satisfactory completion of the war." "Unless it covered transport it would be a very sad deficiency." Mr. Henderson said, "Mr. Gee wants to know whether khaki (cloth) is included." The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied: "Certainly." Thus all Government war service was included. Nor was there any limitation by

Ministries or Departments. The Agreement naturally had no special reference to the Ministry of Munitions, which had not then been established. The Agreement was entered into, not at the office of any one Department, but at the Treasury itself, which represents and controls all Departments. The Agreement was made not by the Minister of any spending Department, but by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as having to pay for all Government work and orders; and associated with him as signatory for the Government was the President of the Board of Trade, then responsible for the Labour Department, which deals with all kinds and grades of labour. The Trade Unions represented, which included every conceivable industry, together with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the General Federation of Trade Unions (which can only have been brought in to emphasise the point of universality) were certainly under the impression that the Agreement was made with the Government as a whole, including all Departments; and that it applied to all wage-earners employed, directly or indirectly, in the service of any of them in connection with the war.

It should be noted that it is on this Treasury Agreement that rests the moral obligation of the Government for the restoration of Trade Union conditions after the war. If it can be contended that the Agreement covers only this or that Department for one matter, it follows that it covers only the same field for the other matters with which it deals. The contention of limitation to any particular Department is thus of grave import.

Moreover, as regards the War Office and Admiralty, it should be remembered that, at the Conference at the Treasury at which the Agreement was made, there were present, during part of the proceedings, the Parliamentary Secretary of the Admiralty (Dr. Macnamara), Sir Francis Hopwood, and Admiral Tudor. There were also present Mr. Harold Baker (Financial Secretary), General Sir Wolfe Murray, and Sir Charles Harris, on behalf of the War Office. At one point of the proceedings a postponement took place in order to permit the Admiralty and the War Office to be consulted specially. The Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, in discussing one of the drafts of the Agreement, said: "We have not been able to hit upon any words which will meet the case. I am afraid it will take some time because we have the Admiralty to consult, the War Office to consult, and the Board of Trade to consult . . . and we should like to know exactly what their views are. We should also like to know how it will affect the Admiralty arsenals." At no point in the discussion was any suggestion of exclusion made. In the face of these facts, it can hardly be seriously contended that the Treasury Agreement, when it was finally concluded, was not binding on the War Office and Admiralty, alike in their direct employment and by their contractors, at least as much as on the subsequently established Ministry of Munitions; that it did not apply equally to "soft trades" as to "hard trades"; to textiles as well as to metals; to transport as well as to the food trades; and, in fact, wherever women were put to do work previously done by men in connection with the requirements of the war.

V.—WAS THE TREASURY AGREEMENT SUBSEQUENTLY ABROGATED OR MODIFIED BY THE PARTIES THERETO?

It has been urged that, whatever the Treasury Agreement may have secured, as regards the wages of the women, it was subsequently abrogated or modified by consent of the parties concerned.

A.

This consent was given, it has been said, first in Schedule II. of the Munitions of War Act, 1915.

But it is impossible to contend that the Munitions of War Act, 1915, was intended as a modification of the Treasury Agreement, or that the parties to that Agreement gave any consent to such modification. The Act (except as regards the prevention of strikes) did not cover anything like the same ground as the Treasury Agreement, as it applied (a) only to "munitions of war" as then narrowly defined, (b) and only to employment in controlled establishments, or those to which section 7 was applied. A large proportion of the 34 separate Trade Unions, who were represented at the Treasury Conference, and with whose representatives, together with those of the Trades Union Congress and the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Treasury Agreement was made, were not within the scope of Part II. or Schedule II. of the Act of 1915. No consent was therein given by them, or any of them, to any modification of the Agreement; and no intimation was given by the Government that the Government wished to modify the Agreement, or that it was seeking to do so by the Bill. On the contrary, it was expressly pointed out by Mr. Duncan, the President of the Workers' Union, and not denied by Mr. Lloyd George, that the Treasury Agreement was not abrogated by the Munitions Bill. Speaking at the Conference on the Bill, Mr. Duncan said: "I should like to put this point. It seems to me that the Agreement which was arrived at at the Treasury is still an Agreement, and must be still in operation, *whatever is put in the new Bill*. If the Bill that is to be introduced into the House of Commons does not cover those that are contained in the Agreement that was agreed to at the Treasury, it does not wipe out those points that were in the Agreement." In fact the general assumption was, which the representatives of the Government in the House of Commons evidently shared, that the Bill merely gave statutory effect, over a large part of the field (though by no means the whole field) to what had been solemnly agreed to in the Treasury Conference.

But was there any modification? The Schedule of the Act contains in Clauses 4 and 5 the paragraphs of the Treasury Agreement already quoted, with a slight variation. In the Schedule they read as follows:—

"4. When the custom of a shop is changed during the war by the introduction of semi-skilled men to perform work hitherto performed by a class of workmen of higher skill, the *time and piece rates* paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work.

"5. The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job. In cases where men who ordinarily do the work are adversely affected thereby, the necessary adjustments shall be made so that they can maintain their previous earnings."

The only alteration is the introduction of the words underlined. The Trade Unions concerned understood this substitution of "time and piece rates" for "rates" merely as explanation of the word "rates," which the workmen invariably use to include all forms of wage payment, whether by the hour or week, by piece work or by systems of premium bonus. It merely made even more clear than before that it was the terms of the Shells and Fuses Agreement that were being followed. It has been contended, on behalf of the Government, that the fact that

this substitution was made in Clause 4, and not in Clause 5, proves that Clause 4 relates to both time and piece workers, whereas Clause 5—which alone mentions “female labour”—was (in direct departure from the Shells and Fuses Agreement, as plainly explained to the Government by Mr. Brownlie) *deliberately meant to apply only to workers employed by the piece.*

If this was the intention of the Government in making the alteration, it is a pity it was not explained to the women workers, to the A.S.E., and the other Trade Unions, and to the House of Commons, because it is certain that none of the Trade Unions understood that the terms of the Treasury Agreement were being silently altered to their disadvantage.

But it is plain, on the construction of Clause 5, that this was not the intention of the Government, or the Parliamentary draftsmen. It must be repeated that the clause in the Treasury Agreement, *which stands unchanged in Clause 5 of the Schedule of the Act*, gives a certain pledge about wages *in a single sentence applicable alike to three classes of workers*, namely the skilled men of other crafts, the semi-skilled workers, and “female labour.” Whatever that pledge was, it plainly is made alike as regards all three classes. The pledge is that “the rates customarily paid for the job” shall not be adversely affected. If this secured the rates of piece workers only, among the women, it secured the rates of piece workers only among the substituted skilled craftsmen and semi-skilled men. But the alteration made in Clause 4—made, presumably, for the sake of greater caution and explicitness—renders it indisputable that, so far as regards semi-skilled men, by the word “rates” was meant, as the workmen always mean, both time-rates and piece-work rates. If both time-rates and piece-work rates are secured to the semi-skilled men, then the wording of Clause 5 compels us to accept that they are secured for the substituted skilled men and the women, *because these all have the same security under Clause 5.* The word “rates” used for all three classes in the same sentence, must surely mean the same in that sentence for all three classes.

It may be observed that when the Ministry of Munitions came, in October, 1915, to draft the Order L.2, *avowedly to give effect to the Munitions of War Act, 1915, it did not adopt the contention now raised.* It did, in fact, by L.2 give to substituted female labour, equally with semi-skilled men and skilled men of other crafts, not only the piecework rates and premium bonus times “customarily paid for the job” (Clauses 4, 5, 6, 7), but also the time-rates “customarily paid for the job,” together with overtime, night shift and Sunday allowances equally with the men (Clause 1). This is in accordance with the Shells and Fuses Agreement. It can hardly be contended that it was not equally in accordance with the Treasury Agreement which—after the fact that the terms used in the Shells and Fuses Agreement included alike “time wages, piecework rates and premium bonus times” had been explicitly stated by Mr. Brownlie, of the A.S.E.—was agreed to by the Government. This in itself negatives the contention that the Treasury Agreement had no application to time workers. And, as has already been mentioned, the limiting word “piece” was actually inserted before “rates” in one of the earlier drafts of the Agreement, and was deliberately omitted in its final form—thus proving that no such limitation to piece rates was finally intended.

It is true that, for some unexplained reason, the Order L.2 grants this equality of pay only to women “employed on work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen.” No such distinction or limitation appears

either in the Treasury Agreement or in the Schedule of the Munitions of War Act, any more than in the Shells and Fuses Agreement on which they were admittedly based.

The explanation doubtless is that the A.S.E., which was the Trade Union that was, at this moment, doing the fighting, was primarily concerned to protect the rates customarily paid *for skilled work*, to which its own members expected to return. It stuck out obstinately, in face of the greatest Government pressure, for getting the same rates, whether by time, by piece or under the premium bonus system, for whatever classes of operatives might be put to do work previously done by skilled men—which it had secured from the employers in the Shells and Fuses Agreement and had undoubtedly secured also from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade at the Conference which resulted in the Treasury Agreement. It refused to put that Agreement into force at all until the Ministry of Munitions gave way on this point. But the Executive Committee of the A.S.E. was not directly concerned to protect the rates for semi-skilled work; and the Trade Unions representing the semi-skilled workers (*who were kept without knowledge of the negotiations between the Ministry of Munitions and the A.S.E.*) did not, it seems, immediately take action to complain that the same interpretation of the Treasury Agreement was not being applied to semi-skilled work. This failure to grant by L.2 "equality of pay" to time workers—which is now complained of by the Trade Unions as a breach of the Treasury Agreement—can hardly be contended to constitute, *in itself*, a new agreement with the Trade Unions concerned, in modification of the Treasury Agreement. No such new agreement by—to name only the principal Unions represented at the Treasury Conference—the Workers' Union, the National Union of General Labourers, and the National Amalgamated Union of Labour—has been produced to us.

B.

It has also been contended that, although the Treasury Agreement was binding on the Government, it was subsequently modified by the parties thereto, in the fact that the Order L.2 (and various subsequent Orders of the Ministry of Munitions), by which it was sought to give effect to the provisions of the Treasury Agreement *with certain modifications*, were agreed to by the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee, and by other Committees whose assistance was sought by the Ministry of Munitions.

It may be pointed out, in the first place, that the Order L.2 (and the subsequent orders) are not, in themselves, Agreements at all. They are injunctions or commands issued by a Government Department. That Department may be bound by them, but it is clear that they bind no one else.

It is, however, suggested that these Orders were agreed to by the Advisory Committees. On this the following observations must be made. These Committees were not appointed by the Trade Unions, and had no authority either to negotiate on behalf of the Trade Unions, or to bind them. They were never supposed by the Trade Unions concerned to have any such authority. They never themselves publicly suggested that they had. They were made up of persons chosen and appointed by the Ministry of Munitions, and they formed part of that establishment. Their secretaries were appointed and paid by the Ministry of Munitions; and any payments to the members for travelling expenses and subsistence were made, not by the Trade Unions, but by the Government. Far from

acting for the Trade Unions, they negotiated *on behalf of the Government* with the A.S.E. and other Trade Unions. It cannot surely be contended that Committees so appointed and so acting could be supposed to have authority from the Trade Unions to agree on their behalf to modifications in an Agreement solemnly made with the representatives of 34 separate Trade Unions, together with those of the Trades Union Congress and the General Federation of Trade Unions.

Moreover, these Committees included members of only a few Trade Unions, arbitrarily selected by the Ministry of Munitions, to the exclusion of the rest. There is no published record of what these Committees did decide, or in what respects they agreed to the draft Orders that may have been submitted to them, or of what alterations in the terms of such Orders they suggested, or of how far their decisions or recommendations were adopted by the Ministry. If their recommendations are to be treated as equally authoritative in one matter, they must be treated as equally authoritative in other matters. Finally, the Trade Unions have never been told whether their recommendations or decisions were unanimous. If they were not unanimous, how could the recommendation or decision of Committees, so appointed and selected, be held to amount to a "consent" of the dissentient minority; still less to a "consent" of the Trade Unions to which that dissentient minority belonged, or to a "consent" by those which had not even a member on such Committees?

C.

There are certain cases in which the Treasury Agreement has been modified, *so far as the members of certain Trade Unions are concerned*, by separate agreements made between these Unions and the Government. Thus, although the Amalgamated Society of Engineers held firmly that the Order L.2 was a direct breach of the Treasury Agreement (in so far as it failed to secure to women employed by time *on semi-skilled work* the men's rates for such work), yet the A.S.E. definitely agreed to accept that Order, and the corresponding Order L.3. *But their subsequent Agreement was expressly limited to the substitution for skilled men.* It therefore does not touch the point at issue, which is the failure of L.2 to carry out the Treasury Agreement as regards the wages to be paid to women replacing semi-skilled men. The terms of the Agreement of the A.S.E. on 27th October, 1915, are as follows:—"The Executive Committee of the A.S.E., having considered Circulars L.2 and L.3 and the Report of the Ministry of Munitions *with regard to the scheme for the dilution of skilled labour*, accept the conditions laid down therein, and are willing to co-operate in securing their application." The Agreement of the A.S.E. to accept the conditions of L.2 and L.3, which *did* carry out the Treasury Agreement *so far as concerned women employed by time or on payment by results, when put to do work previously done by skilled labour*—the point in which the members of the A.S.E. were most directly interested—cannot, plainly, be quoted, either as any agreement by the A.S.E. in the modification of the Treasury Agreement as regards other points not connected with the scheme for the dilution of *skilled labour*, or as committing the other Trade Unions, whose members were more directly concerned with these other points than the A.S.E., to any agreement whatever. In fact, the very conclusion by the Government of a special and separate agreement with the A.S.E. and carefully *concealing* from the other Trade Unions the fact that such a special agreement was being made, shows that the Government felt such an agreement would be necessary; and nevertheless *the Government neither*

sought nor obtained the agreement of the other Trade Unions, which were parties to the Treasury Agreement, to the departures from that agreement which the Government was making in the Order L.2.

The other case is that of the National Union of Railwaymen, which was represented at the Treasury Conference, but refused to accept the Treasury Agreement, preferring to negotiate a separate agreement with the Railway Executive Committee under the Board of Trade. Any complaint of the National Union of Railwaymen rests on the separate agreement with another Government Department.

These two cases only emphasise the fact that, so far as regards the mass of the Trade Unions represented at the Treasury Conference, *the Treasury Agreement remains in force*, unmodified by any subsequent agreement by the parties to it.

D.

It should be added that, following on the ignoring by the War Contract Department of the Treasury Agreement, a number of Trade Unions in various industries subsequently concluded agreements of their own with their Employers' Associations, which differed in various respects from the agreement which the Government had made on 19th March, 1915. Strictly speaking, it can hardly be contended that these agreements made by particular Trade Unions with other parties have any bearing on the obligation of the Government to fulfil the pledges which it made, especially as it was usually on the failure of the Government Departments to carry out the Treasury Agreement that such subsequent agreements were entered into with the employers.

It may possibly be urged that the conclusion of these subsequent agreements to some extent relieved the Government of its responsibility. This, however, can plainly be urged only with respect to the particular Trade Unions which entered into such agreements, and to no others. It will be noted that a large number of the Trade Unions with whom the Government made the Treasury Agreement, including most of the larger ones, and therefore an overwhelming majority of the workers concerned, women as well as men, did not enter into any such subsequent agreements; and that these base their complaints on the Treasury Agreement itself.

VI.—DID THE TREASURY AGREEMENT CONTEMPLATE OR PERMIT ANY DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN AS SUCH, WITH REGARD TO ADVANCES MADE IN RESPECT OF THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING?

Even assuming that the Treasury Agreement secured to "female labour" admitted to work previously done by men, a certain equality of wages, in whatever way this might be determined, it has been contended that it did not apply to advances in wages subsequently made in respect of the increased cost of living; that any such advance, made to piece-workers as well as to time workers, either of so much per cent. on the time wages or piecework earnings, or in the form of a lump sum addition of so many shillings per week, was not included in the word "rates"; and that accordingly the women had no right under the Treasury Agreement either to the same percentage addition, or to the same lump sum addition as the men, or to any addition whatever.

This is a contention that the Trade Unions find it impossible to understand. They habitually include, in the term "rates" all forms and items of remuneration, whether time, piece, or premium bonus; whether allowances for overtime, Sunday duty, or night work; and whether the amounts fixed by a scale or the various additions made thereto by per-

centage or lump sums. To say that "the rates customarily paid for the job" shall be paid; and then to make an arbitrary distinction between the scale rate and an advance given on whatever ground, is not intelligible.

It must be remembered that when employers have tried to make such distinctions in resisting compensation claims when accidents have occurred, the courts have brushed the contention aside, and have insisted on including as one and indivisible, all the forms of remuneration for the job or service that a workman enjoyed under his contract of employment. The War Cabinet had to consider the same question when preparing the Bill for maintaining, for the first six months of demobilisation, the existing wage-rates. The Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, provides for the maintenance under certain conditions of "the prescribed rate of wages"; and this is defined as including not merely the recognised time-rate or other basis for determining wages—that is to say, piecework price list, or other system of payment by results—but also the usual allowances for overtime, night work, &c., and the *general war bonuses or war advances* when these are paid in addition to the time rate or other wage basis. Thus, all these advances are included in "the prescribed rate of wages," with regard to both men and women alike. Can it be suggested that advances that have to be included in the word "rate" in an Act of Parliament at the end of the war, were not included in the word "rate" in the Treasury Agreement at the beginning of the war?

There seems no argument whatever why women should not receive advances made in respect of a rise in the cost of living, in a manner exactly equivalent to that in the case of a man. Whatever money the woman draws at the end of the week is depreciated in purchasing power in precisely the same degree as the money drawn by the man. To pay the same piecework prices to women as to men, but to pay them to women in a depreciated currency (for that is what a refusal of equality in bonus to meet the increased cost of living amounts to) is certainly not in accordance with the Treasury Agreement, as authoritatively interpreted by the principal signatory thereof, in response to a direct enquiry as to its meaning, within two days after its first publication. What it secured to all women put on men's work, Mr. Lloyd George officially explained in writing was "*that if women turn out the same quantity of work as men employed on the same job, they will receive exactly the same pay.*" Can it be contended that an increase of remuneration given in respect of a rise in the cost of living—whether given in the form of a percentage on time or piece-work rates, or in that of a lump sum addition thereto week by week—does not form part of the employee's pay"? Would the courts hold, in the event of an accident, that such bonuses or advances were not to be included as "pay" for the purpose of assessing the compensation? *Has the Ministry of Munitions itself excluded them from "pay" in assessing such compensation, where accidents have occurred?* And if they are "pay" for one purpose, are they not "pay" within the meaning of Mr. Lloyd George's letter of 26th March, 1915, in which he states definitely what is the meaning of the Treasury Agreement which he had just concluded?

It is on this point that I find myself most seriously at issue with my colleagues. So far as I understand their argument, although they seem to hold that the Treasury Agreement itself did not contain any pledge as to the wages to be paid to substituted women, they accept as binding (and, I assume, new) pledges, on behalf of the Government, Mr. Lloyd George's letter of 26th March, 1915, and his speech to the women's

deputation on the Victoria Embankment in June, 1915. But whilst my colleagues accept these as Government pledges in respect of wages, they do not even mention them when they discuss the allegation that the women have been refused the men's advances. Instead of considering whether or not these pledges have been fulfilled with respect to advances, they discuss the question of whether the Circulars and Orders of the Ministry of Munitions put upon the Ministry any obligation to give, at a subsequent date, the same advances to the women as to the men. I do not regard the Circulars and Orders of the Ministry of Munitions as in the nature of a pledge. It was never supposed that these executive decisions could not be modified or reversed by subsequent Circulars and Orders, without the consent of the persons to whom they applied, or of their Trade Unions. They were, in fact, repeatedly so modified and reversed, without anyone protesting that this constituted a breach of faith. When the Ministry of Munitions wanted to ascertain whether or not the Government was under any obligation to concede to the women the same advances as the men, it submitted to the Law Officers, *not any pledge that the Government had made*, but these very Circulars and Orders of the Ministry of Munitions itself. It would have been as relevant to have laid before the Law Officers the Ten Commandments or the Multiplication Table. The fact that the Law Officers advised that these Circulars and Orders did not prevent the issue of a new one, making any provision as to advances that the Ministry might think fit, has no relevance, as it seems to me, to the question referred to this Committee, (which is not that on which the Ministry of Munitions had consulted the Law Officers) whether the Treasury Agreement or Mr. Lloyd George's interpretation of it bound the Government, in all its departments, to give to women substituted for men on war work, not only the same piece or time rates, but also any additions to them made by way of advances.

In view, not only of the discussions at the Treasury Conference, and of the terms of the agreement itself, but also of Mr. Lloyd George's emphatic and repeated guarantee "that if women turn out the same quantity of work as men employed on the same job, they will receive exactly the same pay," I cannot see any justification for holding, with regard to women substituted for men in war work, any other view with regard to advances than that held with regard to wages.

CHAPTER II.

HAS THE GOVERNMENT FULFILLED THE OBLIGATIONS INVOLVED IN ITS PLEDGE?

Such being the meaning of the Treasury Agreement, so far as concerns the wages of women put to do work previously done by men, the Committee has to decide whether or not the Government has fulfilled its pledge.

We may leave aside the large number of cases in which it is alleged that employers failed to carry out the orders of the various Government Departments with regard to women's wages, or only carried them out after prolonged delay; and also the repeated failure of the various Government Departments to enforce their own Orders and Circulars. In the same way, we may leave aside the large number of cases in which it is alleged that the Trade Unions representing the men failed to carry

out their own undertakings, or only carried them very slowly; and also the repeated failure of the Trade Union Executives to take such steps as were in their power to enforce on their members compliance with their corporate undertakings. It would be useless, so long after the events, to seek to explore these cases in detail. We may confine our attention to the question of whether the Government Departments took the necessary steps to secure the enforcement of the Treasury Agreement on the management of the various Government establishments, and on the firms with which these Departments contracted.

I.—THE TREASURY.

So far as we have been able to ascertain, on the publication of the Treasury Agreement of 25th March, 1915, *no* steps were taken by any then existing Government Department (with the exception of a circular spontaneously issued by the War Office and Admiralty to some of their contractors) to secure compliance with its terms, so far as women's wages were concerned; although pressure was already being used to induce employers to take on women, and many employers in different branches of industry were beginning to take on women as substitutes for men. We have not learned that the Treasury, being the Department through which the Chancellor of the Exchequer normally gives instructions to other Government Departments, formally communicated the Agreement to the various Departments, or why it did not do so; and the instructions given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Departments, in order to ensure the fulfilment of the Government pledge, if any such were issued, have not been communicated to us.

II.—THE ADMIRALTY.

The position taken up by the Admiralty, with regard to the wages of women employed in war work in substitution for men, was put to the Committee very explicitly first by Mr. Loveridge, who was deputed to give evidence on behalf of the Department, and subsequently by Dr. Macnamara, who had himself taken part in the negotiations out of which the Treasury Agreement arose. Out of 12,000 women employed in industrial work by the Admiralty no fewer than 9,000 were engaged on work heretofore done by men. The Admiralty, as Dr. Macnamara explained, felt that the wage conditions applicable elsewhere were "not altogether applicable textually to our case." But it had always been laid down, to use Dr. Macnamara's own expression to the Committee, "that it is up to us in every way to secure to our people the spirit, at any rate, of the safeguards, the undertakings and the protection to be found in the text of the Ministry of Munitions several enactments for the workpeople." There was, however, a series of complaints by Trade Unions that the Admiralty were not paying to women employed in war work in substitution for men the same wages as the men had received. It is admitted that no distinction was made in the Admiralty dockyards between women employed on jobs recognised as women's work, and those introduced in substitution for men on jobs heretofore recognised as men's work. In a letter dated 6th June, 1917, it was explained that "it was felt to be incumbent on the Admiralty that the older classes of women workers . . . should not be paid in general a lower scale of wages than the women newly engaged to do possibly inferior work which may previously have constituted some portion of the work performed by men." What the Admiralty did was to adopt as a minimum time rate, for all women irrespective of whether or not they were employed in substitution for men, the rate of £1 per week (afterwards

raised to 24s. and eventually to 35s.), which had been prescribed by the Order L.2 of the Ministry of Munitions. To this minimum rate certain additions were made where the work required special qualifications—again irrespective of whether or not the job had heretofore been done by men. "In the view of the Admiralty," stated the letter of the 6th June, 1917, "it is necessary that the wages of all the women workers in the dockyards should be regulated according to the same principles." The Committee did not discuss the difficulties which led the Admiralty to take up this position; nor do I wish to criticise it. The only question is whether it was a fulfilment of the Government pledge.

With regard to the women employed at piece-work rates, it was explained to the Committee by Mr. Loveridge that there was here also no difference made between those employed on women's jobs, and those on jobs heretofore done by men. All such women were paid at rates regarded as commensurate with their services, "the basis rate for women being taken as the datum line, and the piece time-rate for fully-skilled workmen, plus the amount by which the basis rate has been advanced above £1 per week, being taken as the maximum limit." From the statements made to the Committee it would seem that the piece-work rates allowed for women's jobs were about one-half of those allowed for men's jobs. There has been no attempt, so the Committee was informed, to apply in the Dockyards the principle that where women were engaged on work customarily performed by fully-skilled tradesmen, they should receive, not only the same piece-work rates as the men, but also, where employed by time, the same time-work rates and allowances. This was embodied in the Ministry of Munitions Order L.2, which did not apply to the Admiralty Dockyards. It was held, so the Committee was informed, that any such attempt "would be incompatible with the regulation of wages according to relative value of services, and would tend to produce an almost chaotic disarray in the rates of wages of the women employed."

A return of the amounts paid to the several classes of women employed by time was laid before the Committee; and this showed that women on "labourers' work," on "skilled labourers' work" and on "fully-skilled mechanics' work," respectively, were receiving much below the time rates of men of these grades. With regard to women employed at piece-work rates, Dr. Macnamara gave no particulars, and he observed that "it is not contended that we have differentiated in piece prices between men and women." The Committee received no evidence on this point, but what was understood to be Dr. Macnamara's implication does not appear consistent with the explanation given by Mr. Loveridge (and quoted above) of the manner in which the women's piecework rates are computed.

It has to be added that, as in other Departments, the general advances of wages in respect of the cost of living were not given equally to men and to women employed in substitution of men.

III.—THE WAR OFFICE.

The Committee was informed that whereas, before the war, the War Office employed almost exclusively men and boys, with only a few hundred women, it has latterly had in its direct employment on all sorts of industrial operations—notwithstanding the transfer to the Ministry of Munitions of so much of the business of supply—not fewer than 20,000 women, practically all of them on work previously done by men.

The practice of the War Office with regard to the rates of wages paid to this large number of women has had no regard to the Treasury Agreement of 19th March, 1915. As explained to the Committee by the

representative of the Department, it has not proceeded on the principle of paying to the women the "rates customarily paid for the job," either at time or piece rates, as required by the Treasury Agreement. It has avowedly proceeded on the lines—just as if there had been no Treasury Agreement—of giving the women what it thought fit, or what produced a sufficient supply of suitable labour in the particular locality, paying, accordingly, not only much lower time wages, but also much lower piece-work rates, to women than to men, entirely irrespective of whether the women were put to do work previously done by men. It should be noted that, at Woolwich and elsewhere, where the War Office employs women in close propinquity with women employed by the Ministry of Munitions, the War Office has admittedly found it necessary to raise the rates paid to women much above those which it pays in other places—thus demonstrating the extent to which the failure of the War Office to comply with the terms of the Treasury Agreement, even in the degree to which the Ministry of Munitions has complied with it, has withheld, from the thousands of women whom the War Office employs, the wages that would have been legally due to them if the Treasury Agreement had been even as approximately complied with as it has been by the Ministry of Munitions.

On the other hand, it is to be said, to the credit of the War Office and Admiralty, that they seem to have been the only Departments that immediately made an attempt to get the terms of the Treasury Agreement carried out by the Departments' contractors. Already, on the 29th March, 1915, within ten days of the conclusion of the Agreement, the War Office communicated it by circular (and the Admiralty a few weeks later) to some, at least, of the contractors, namely, those dealing with munitions of war in the narrow sense. No such circular was, however, sent to the contractors for the innumerable other articles required by the Army; and when this work was taken over by the War Contract Department, the line taken was that the Department was in no way bound by the Treasury Agreement, and that all that it is called upon to do is to insert in its contracts the Fair Wages Clause required by the House of Commons. Consequently (except in so far as its contracts have gone to "controlled firms," or to others to which the Munitions of War Acts applied, when I assume that the Orders as to wages issued by the Ministry of Munitions should be in force) the War Office has admittedly made no attempt to secure compliance by its contractors with the terms of the Treasury Agreement so far as regards the wages of women on work previously done by men, in connection with the war, and it is clear that, in many cases, they have not been complied with. The payment by these firms contracting with the War Office (and also with the Admiralty and the Office of Works) of lower wages than had to be paid by firms contracting with the Ministry of Munitions, or otherwise coming within the scope of its orders under the Munitions of War Acts, was a constant grievance of these latter firms, and one which was repeatedly brought to the notice of the Government. A number of conferences were held between all these Departments, in which the Ministry of Munitions sought to convince them of the practical necessity for enforcing on all firms doing Government work, by means of orders under the Munitions Acts or otherwise, the principles laid down by the Treasury Agreement, so far as these were embodied in the Orders of the Ministry of Munitions. The other Departments absolutely refused to agree. It is even alleged that the War Office, in particular, deliberately sought out firms having no orders from the Ministry of Munitions, and thus free from any obligations as to wages, with whom to place Army contracts. This attitude received confirmation from employers who gave

evidence before the Committee. One large employer informed the Committee that when he was executing a contract for the War Office, the Ministry of Munitions ordered him to pay the wages required by the Orders of that Department, but "the War Office has immediately gone on to their collar and stopped it."*

Finally, the complaints became so serious that the matter was privately referred to the Minister of Labour as arbitrator. He decided that the then existing Orders of the Ministry of Munitions should, contrary to the wishes of the other Departments, be applied to all firms in the rubber, wood work and rope trades, whatever might be the Department of Government that they were working under; but that no future Order should be applied to any firm in a trade already possessing a Trade Board. (This latter proviso does not seem consistent with the Treasury Agreement, which made no exception for women employed under Orders of a Trade Board.) I gather that, with regard to other trades, the position remains unchanged; and that, even now, no attempt is made to secure compliance with the terms of the Treasury Agreement as regards the wages of women on work previously done by men.

I think it desirable to refer to a particular case in which—consistent with its own argument—the War Office has deliberately interfered to prevent women employed on work previously done by men from receiving the rates customarily paid for the work, as required by the Treasury Agreement. Women employed at Stirling on repairing tentage and light store work, previously done by Ordnance Store labourers at rates which now stand at 43*s.* to 45*s.* per week, but only getting 22*s.* per week (equal to about 11*s.* per week prior to the war), applied, at the beginning of 1918, for an advance of 10*s.* per week. The War Office consented to the case being referred to arbitration; and the arbitrator (Professor Baillie) awarded to the general run of women an increase of 4*s.* per week, making the wage 26*s.* per week. His award proceeded to lay down that women employed on outside work who could fairly be regarded as doing effectively the same work as men similarly employed should be paid the same rate as the men. The War Office, *which had consented to the reference to arbitration, refused to accept this part of the award.* In writing to the Minister of Labour the War Office pointed out that "Section 3 of the Award involves an important point of principle in that it grants under certain conditions to women doing men's work the same rates of pay as the men." This was, as immediately interpreted authoritatively by Mr. Lloyd George, the principle of the Treasury Agreement in the conclusion of which the representatives of the War Office had taken part and by which the War Office equally with other Government Departments was bound. But the War Office pointed out to the Ministry of Labour that the War Cabinet had just refused to allow the principle of equality of wages for Civil Service employees to be decided by the Civil Service Conciliation and Arbitration Board; and that *therefore* it was not one for an arbitrator in an industrial arbitration to decide! It may be observed that any decision of the War Cabinet in 1918 could not possibly have any bearing on the interpretation of an agreement made by the Government in 1915. The Ministry of Labour considered that the "clause in question is undesirable," but did not overrule the arbitrator, or withdraw the award. The War Office did not obey the award in form; but, acting on a hint given by the Ministry of Labour, instructed its local officer to buy off the particular women concerned by giving them some additional pay *without giving the full men's wages.* We consider that in this case the Govern-

* Shorthand Notes of evidence, 2.12.18.

ment failed conspicuously to fulfil the pledge given in the Treasury Agreement.

IV.—THE MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS.

The Ministry of Munitions, which was established in June, 1915, seems to have been the Government Department which has taken the Treasury Agreement most seriously, so far as the wages of women were concerned. This was done, not by the device of inserting, in the innumerable contracts that were being made almost daily, of stipulations requiring the contractors to pay the wages which the Government had pledged itself to secure to the women and others, but, from October, 1915, onward, by the issue of a series of circulars. These circulars were not mandatory, at any rate so far as concerns the large amount of employment under Government contractors, but merely advisory; and very grave complaints were made, almost immediately, that the employers were not, in fact, complying with their terms. The Ministry of Munitions refused to take any more drastic steps. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers insisted on the terms of the Treasury Agreement being complied with, and, in January, 1916, the Government gave way so far as to seek from Parliament statutory power to compel employers to enable the Government to fulfil in this way its own pledge. This power was conferred by Parliament in the Munitions of War Act, 1916; but it was not until January, 1917, that the first mandatory order was issued; and it seems to have been a long time before anything like all the women, to whom the terms of the Treasury Agreement applied, received even the amounts provided for by the Orders of the Ministry of Munitions, which did not, as has been shown, carry out in its entirety the pledge given by the Government.

Apart from questions of detail and particular cases (as to which numerous complaints have been made of the non-fulfilment of the Government pledge) the Orders of the Ministry of Munitions relating to the wages of women put on work previously done by men failed to carry out the Treasury Agreement on the following points of fundamental importance affecting hundreds of thousands of women:—

1. *Failure to pay the "rates customarily paid for the job" to women employed on work previously done by unskilled or semi-skilled men and paid at time rates.*

Although women put to do work previously done by skilled men, after some delay, secured the same rates as the men they replaced, alike by time or on systems of payment by results, this has been consistently refused to the women put to do work previously done by semi-skilled men, except in so far as they were employed at piece-work rates or on premium bonus systems. The large number of women put on work previously done by semi-skilled men, and (quite apart from periods of learning the work) continuously kept at time wages, have been paid rates, even when they have become qualified, arbitrarily fixed for them as women, below the time wages of the men they replaced. No such distinction between the treatment of women put to do work previously done by skilled and semi-skilled men respectively appears in the Treasury Agreement. I have been unable to obtain any explanation of this failure to fulfil the Government pledge, other than the disinclination of the employers to put into operation the principles to which the Government had pledged itself, and the reluctance of the Ministry—not due merely to dislike of the increased expenditure involved—to make the new conditions for women's labour effectively obligatory.

2. *Failure to allow the women the same advances as the men.*

Where general advances have been given to the men, either of a percentage on their time wages or piece-work earnings, or of a lump sum addition per week, whether by way of war bonus or in respect of the rise in the cost of living, the advance has sometimes been altogether refused to the women, and in other cases the women, even when earning the same piece-work rates as the men, have been given a smaller percentage by way of advance, or a lesser lump sum per week than the men. They do not accordingly get, to use Mr. Lloyd George's expression, the same "pay" for the same work. In this case the failure of the Government to fulfil its pledge appears to have had, as its motive, merely a reluctance to incur so great an expense as would have been involved in giving to the women the same advances as the men. The facts appear to be as follows:—In March, August and December, 1917, general advances were given to men employed in the engineering trades amounting altogether to 16s. 6d. per week, payable to time workers and piece-workers alike. The women, even when doing work previously done by men, and paid equal wages at piecework or on premium bonus systems, or (where in substitution for skilled men) at time work—sometimes working side by side with the men at the same jobs—were deliberately excluded from these advances. The women received, instead, at dates subsequent to the men's advances, and by awards of a different authority, advances of smaller sums, amounting in all to 11s. per week. Whether substitutes for skilled men, or substitutes for semi-skilled men, or not substitutes at all, they were all alike treated apart from the men, as being merely "munition workers," just as if there had been no Treasury Agreement. This failure to give the same pay for the same work was, I consider, so far as regards the women substituted for men, whether skilled or unskilled or semi-skilled, a plain breach of the Treasury Agreement.

The next case was even more glaring. For reasons with which we are not here concerned, the Government found itself compelled, in 1918, to concede to the workers in the engineering and various other trades, general advances of 12½ per cent. on the wages of time workers, and 7½ per cent. on the earnings of workers employed on systems of payment by results. These advances were wholly withheld from women workers of all grades in all occupations whatever, whether paid by time or on systems of payment by results, and whether employed on work previously done by skilled men, or by unskilled or semi-skilled men, or not substitutes at all, just as if there had been no Treasury Agreement. This failure to give the women the same general advances as the men was, so far as regards the women employed on work previously done by men, a plain breach of the Treasury Agreement. "It would not be fair," said Mr. Lloyd George in expounding that agreement, "to give a man, say 2s. 6d. for any piece of work, and give 1s. 6d. to a woman, so we have agreed to pay exactly the same rate of wages for piece work to women as to men." In explaining the meaning of the same agreement he said "that, of course, means that if women turn out the same quantity of work as men employed on the same job, they will receive exactly the same pay." Owing to the refusal to give the women substitutes the same general advances as the men, none of these hundreds of thousands of women have, during 1916, 1917, and 1918 received either "the same rate of wages for piece work" any more than for time work, as the men: or, when they turned out

the same quantity of work as the men employed on the same job, "*exactly the same pay.*" They have, during these years, received less than such men, to the extent of 5s. 6d. per week, and, in addition, 12½ per cent. on their wages if they were time workers, and 7½ per cent. on their earnings if they were employed on systems of payment by results.

In both these classes of cases, which apply to many tens of thousands of women in different parts of the country—both under contractors and in the direct employment of the Ministry—the Government, acting through the Ministry of Munitions, has not fulfilled the pledges as to the payment for substituted women's labour embodied in the Treasury Agreement of 19th March, 1915.

CONCLUSIONS.

Surveying, thus, the action of the Treasury, the Admiralty, the War Office and the Ministry of Munitions, with regard to the terms of the Treasury Agreement in so far as they relate to the wages of women in war work employed in substitution of men, I am unable to come to any other conclusion than that the Government has not fulfilled the pledges embodied in that Agreement, nor yet the authoritative interpretation of part of its scope given in Mr. Lloyd George's letter of 26th March, 1915.

My conclusions upon this part of the reference to the Committee may be summarised as under.

1. The Treasury Agreement of 19th March, 1915, embodied a pledge that the women employed in war work in substitution of men should receive the same pay as the men they replaced.
2. This pledge was applicable without exception to all kinds of war work, whether done by contractors or in any Government Department; to all degrees of skill, and to all methods of computing wages, including time, piece and premium bonus, and to allowances and advances.
3. This pledge has been wholly ignored by some Government Departments, and only fulfilled by others tardily and partially, to the great loss of the women concerned.
4. No Government Department has carried out the pledge in its entirety. All of them (including the Ministry of Munitions) have failed in two points of first-rate importance, affecting many thousands of women.

(a) Where women have been employed at time rates they have—with the curious exception of women taking the place of skilled men within the sphere of the Ministry of Munitions—been denied the same pay as the men they have replaced.

(b) But the most flagrant breach is the repeated refusal of all the Government Departments to concede to the women employed in substitution for men, whether skilled or unskilled, whether at piece work, the premium bonus system, or time wages, the successive advances granted to the men doing similar work—thus failing to carry out not only the Treasury Agreement, but also the interpretation authoritatively given by Mr. Lloyd George on 26th March, 1915, (which is accepted in the Majority Report as being an independent pledge by which the Government is bound) "that if the women turn out the same quantity of work they will receive *exactly the same pay.*"

BEATRICE WEBB.

April 30th.

NOTE

BY

SIR WILLIAM MACKENZIE.

I regret to find myself at variance with my colleagues on two of the matters discussed in the preceding pages.

NATIONAL MINIMUM OR NATIONAL SUBSISTENCE WAGE.

1. As used in the preceding pages, a national minimum wage and a national subsistence wage appear to be synonymous terms. In my opinion, if the principle of a national minimum wage is to be pressed, it would seem to be necessary that the minimum should be fixed not upon a national basis, but upon a trade basis, so as to allow a reasonable amount of differentiation to meet the conditions of particular trades; that is to say, that the national minimum should be fixed trade by trade and not one and the same national minimum for all trades.

2. Apart from such industries as the textile industries (cotton and woollen) and a few others, women's wages before the war were low. The probable reasons for this are enumerated at pp. 69, *et seq.*, *ante*. Before the war Trade Boards had been established in eight trades only (*see* pp. 75, 155, *ante*) and trade union organisation among women—apart from the textile industries (cotton and woollen) and a few others—was not very effective. Those who interested themselves in questions of wages and labour conditions of women almost despaired of raising wages trade by trade, or district by district; hence a claim for a national minimum rate, that is, a claim that the same rate should be paid in all trades and industries as a minimum.

3. The war has changed all that. During the war period the machinery of the Trade Board has been strengthened and improved. The Trade Boards Act, 1918, conferred extensive powers on the Minister of Labour, and under his progressive and enlightened policy Trade Boards have been or are about to be set up in over 60 trades. There is no reason to assume that other trades will not be brought within the scope of a trade board should occasion arise. The Whitley Councils, the Women's Special Arbitration Tribunal, the Committee on Production and single arbitrators acting under the Munitions of War Acts, the Orders of the Ministry of Munitions on Women's Wages, the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, the Interim Court of Arbitration, the Agricultural Wages Board, the large extension of trade unionism among women workers and the setting up of Employers' Associations in the less organised trades in which women are largely employed, have entirely altered the whole situation with reference to women's wages. The change is really an industrial revolution. There is no longer the need—or, at any rate, the same need—for a general or national minimum rate for women to be fixed by Parliament—if such a course was ever practicable.

4. The true line on which to proceed in order to safeguard and advance the wages of women when they need safeguarding or advancing, is in the extension and development of the existing machinery, and not in the establishment of a national minimum or national subsistence wage by Act of Parliament.

5. In the well-organised trades we now have the machinery of the Joint Industrial Council described in the report of Mr. Whitley's Committee on the Relations between Employers and Employed—commonly

known as the Whitley Council—and in the case of less organised trades or trades not organised we have the machinery of the Trade Board. The cardinal principle of this machinery is that employers' organisations and trade unions in their several trades should themselves set up machinery for regulating and settling wages in their own trades.

6. The principal object of the Whitley Councils is to secure that there shall be mutual discussions of such questions and that in such discussions the several trades should have the maximum possible degree of self-government and the minimum amount of Government interference. Those Councils could and should fix the minimum or standard district rate payable to each class of worker, male or female.

7. The Trade Boards confer upon the trades in which they are established a considerable measure of independence, and, although there are Government representatives on the Boards, it is always open to the representatives of the trades themselves to agree as to the rates that ought to be fixed by the Boards, and as far as they agree the Government representatives are not called upon to act. There is also power conferred on Trade Boards to make special provision in respect of workers affected by infirmity or physical injury which renders them incapable of earning the minimum time rate to permit exemption from their being paid the minimum rate in cases where they cannot suitably be employed on piece work.

8. The following table so far as the information necessary for the purpose is available shows the amounts of women's minimum time rates in several industries pre-war (where women worked in the industry pre-war and the rate is ascertainable) and the increases given since the outbreak of war [to date (April, 1919)] :—

TABLE OF WOMEN'S WAGES.

I.—Trade Board Trades.

NOTE.—The rate of pay given in this table is per hour unless otherwise stated.

The hours quoted are those which have been generally applicable to the trade and on which payment has been based; adjustments, such as the 47 hour week which has been adopted in many shops, have not been noted.

Trade.	Pre-war hourly rate.	Present basis rates.	War wages (if any).	Normal working hours per week.	Remarks.
Chain making ...	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	Per hour. 4d. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.	—	54	The 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. applies to workpeople employed by the Chain Manufacturers' Association who are members of the National Federation of Women Workers. Piece workers, a total advance above the 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. of 105 per cent. compound.
Paper Box (G.B.)	3d.	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.	—	52	—
Paper Box (Ireland)	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.	5d.	—	52	—

TABLE OF WOMEN'S WAGES—continued.

Trade.	Pre-war hourly rate.	Present basis rates.	War wages (if any).	Normal working hours per week.	Remarks.
Tailoring (G.B.) (Male Garments).	3½d.	Per hour. 5d.	3d. per hour or 12s. 6d. per week. (Time workers.)	50	Where payment is by log hour a further advance of ¼d. per log hour was granted under Award 370 of Court of Arbitration.
Tailoring (Ireland)	3d.	4½d.	12s. 6d. in wholesale clothing trade.	50	—
Shirt making ...	No general rate.	6d.	1d. per hour in certain districts.	50	—
Shirt making (Ireland).	No general rate.	5½d.	—	50	Londonderry : Ad- vance to time workers of 12½ per cent. and piece workers 10 per cent. 12.12.17.
Embroidery (Ireland).	No general rate.	3½d., 4½d. and 4½d.	—	—	—
Wrought Hollow- ware.	About 10s. per week.	4d.	12s. 9d. per week	54	In certain cases an advance of 10 per cent. is paid above trade board rates.
Tin Box ...	No general rate.	5½d.	6s. a week. Covers large portion of the trade.	52	2½d. per hour fixed by Trade Board in 1915, and 5½d. per hour in Dec., 1918.
Sugar Confec- tionery.	No general rate.	6½d.	—	52	3d. per hour fixed by Trade Board in 1917, and 6½d. per hour March 1919.
Sugar Confec- tionery (Ireland).	No general rate.	4½d.	—	52	2½d. per hour fixed by Trade Board in 1915, and 4½d. per hour in Dec. 1918.
Machine-made Lace and Net finishing.	2½d.	4½d.	—	52½	—

II.—Other Trades regulated by Orders of Ministry of Munitions, Awards of Committee on Production, Court of Arbitration, and Agricultural Wages Board.

Munitions (Men's Work).	No pre-war rate.	6d.	11s. per week, also the 5s. per week advance in En- gineering and Foundry Trades granted by Court of Arbitration in January, 1919, has been ex- tended to cover certain of this work.	48	Certain semi-skilled processes com- mand higher rates, and certain pro- cesses are paid at full district men's rate.
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TABLE OF WOMEN'S WAGES—continued.

Trade.	Pre-war hourly rate.	Present basis rates.	War wages (if any).	Normal working hours per week.	Remarks.
Munitions (Women's Work)	No pre-war rate.	Per hour. 5½d.	11s. per week, also the 5s. per week advance in Engineering and Foundry Trades granted by Court of Arbitration in January, 1919, has been extended to cover certain of this work.	48	Certain semi-skilled processes command higher rates.
Engineering Shops, Boiler Shops, Foundries.	No pre-war rate.	6d.	16s. a week.	53, 54	Hours reduced to 47 without reduction in pay. Certain semi-skilled processes command higher rates, and certain processes are paid at full district men's rate.
General Aircraft...	No pre-war rate.	6d.	11s. general advance, also the 5s. advance granted to Engineering and Foundry Trades by Court of Arbitration, Jan., 1919, covers many aircraft firms.	48	—
Aircraft Woodwork	No pre-war rate.	6d.	11s. general advance, also the 5s. advance granted to Engineering and Foundry Trades by Court of Arbitration, Jan., 1919, covers many aircraft firms.	48	—
Cotton Trade ...	According to standard piece price list.	110% on list prices.	—	—	—
Woollen Trade ...	According to price lists.	107% on list prices.	—	—	—
Nuts and Bolts ...	No general pre-war rate.	5½d.	11s.	54	—

TABLE OF WOMEN'S WAGES—continued.

Trade.	Pre-war hourly rate.	Present basis rates.	War wages (if any).	Normal working hours per week.	Remarks.
Needles and Fishing Tackle	No general pre-war rate.	Per hour. 5½d.	11s.	—	—
London Laundries	No general pre-war rate.	6d.	1d.	Recently fixed at 48	—
Agriculture ...	No general pre-war rate.	6d. and 5d.	—	48-54, varying according to district and season.	5d. per hour is paid except in certain parts of Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmoreland where the rate is 6d. per hour and in Northumberland where the rate for a whole time worker is 22s. 6d. per week and for other than whole time worker 5d. per hour.
III.—Trades in which minimum rates have been fixed by the Minister of Labour under Section 4 ((1)(c)) of Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918.					
Clothing, Women's Garments.	No general pre war rate.	6d.	1d.	Round about 47.	—

9. The rates set out in the above table are the minimum time rates of pay which have been fixed for some of the trades in which women are employed under one or other of the methods at present obtaining for fixing women's minimum wages. The decisions embodied in this table represent considered views of competent bodies of employers' and work-peoples' representatives with special expert knowledge of the conditions in that particular trade. The variation indicates the extent to which, in any particular trade, the circumstances of the actual districts affected have to be borne in mind, the individuality of the worker upon the question of wages to be laid down, and similar matters. In other words, it has been possible, with a large measure of success, to provide for the fixing of minimum rates by existing machinery for most of the trades in which women are employed to any considerable extent. Experience has shown pretty conclusively that these arrangements have worked, on the whole, extremely well. The above table shows that the figures for the various trades, arrived at after most careful investigation, vary considerably in their range, and such variation may be held, not unreasonably, to be the measure of and the extent to which the different conditions obtaining in the different trades call for specialised and individual treatment.

10. If, therefore, consideration is given to the widely differing economic conditions of the various trades—as it ought to be given—it will be seen that any attempt to fix a national minimum is bound to

give rise to great opposition and to be fraught with great difficulty. The first point that would arise, and the point upon which any scheme will probably be wrecked, would be that if the proposed minimum rate is fixed sufficiently high to command the acceptance of the Trade Unions who represent women, it would probably be fixed at such a figure as would make it exceedingly difficult for employers in some trades to carry on their business. On the other hand, if it is fixed so low as to meet the requirements of low paid trades, its existence might, and probably would, imperil the position of higher paid industries, bearing in mind the fact that where female labour is concerned any general minimum rate fixed is apt to be treated as the women's standard. A national minimum rate is sure to operate hardly in the long run against the elderly, the weak and the less efficient; and "the survival of the fittest" is a cruel law to apply to the industrial worker.

11. Once the Trade Boards now in process of formation are set up there will be very few women workers whose wages are not covered by a Whitley Council, a Trade Board or the Agricultural Wages Board, or are not regulated by means which are in operation in some of the better organised trades, such as Conciliation Boards. It is difficult to give even an estimate of the number, but it must be small; so small, indeed, that the elaborate machinery of a commission to fix and regulate from time to time a National Minimum would seem to be wholly unnecessary.

12. The better way, in order to cover this small number, is to make use of one of the provisions of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918. Put shortly, the effect of Section 4 (1) (e) of that Act is that the Minister of Labour may, on the advice of the Interim Court of Arbitration, make an order determining the rate to be paid in any trade for which no general or "prescribed" rate is ascertainable or as regards which no machinery in the shape of a Trade Board, Whitley Council, or Council or Board of employers and employed exists. This provision has already been brought into operation in the case of a large number of workpeople (considerably over 400,000) employed in the making of garments for women and children. In this case an exhaustive enquiry was held by the Court of Arbitration, at which all concerned had the fullest possible opportunity of placing before the Court the facts and evidence bearing upon the matter, and as the result the Minister issued an order prescribing a minimum rate for such trades. A Trade Board is in process of being established in those trades. It is understood that a similar procedure is proposed to be followed in the case of other trades: in some cases where Trade Boards are proposed to be established but the necessary arrangements for doing so have not been completed, and in other cases where there is no immediate prospect of Trade Boards being set up.

14. Here, then, is a remedy at hand, which only requires making permanent. The Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, is a temporary measure, as its title implies, and this part of the scheme for regulating wages should be put on a permanent basis with the necessary modifications to enable it to be applied, as occasion requires, to any industry, trade or industrial calling in which the employed are considered to be underpaid. The arrangements already obtaining for dealing with conditions of labour in a large number of industries through machinery which has become, as the result of careful trial and experience, adapted to the needs and peculiarities of particular trades, would appear to be doubly desirable in the case of those trades which will, in effect, be covered by the proposals of my colleagues. To lump together all those miscellaneous trades and callings, representing in the

bulk an inconsiderable section of the industries and industrial workers of the country, and to make them the subject of the application of a new, far-reaching and untried principle will have results on industrial organisation which it is difficult to foresee. So far as regards the effect of the proposal on the trades affected, the results of such a policy may seriously impair their future prosperity and development, and should this happen the worker will be injured as much as, or even more than the employer. The trades or callings concerned are those with regard to which the least information is available as to the conditions under which they are carried on, the nature of the work that has to be done and the extent to which this country, as regards such trades, is working in competition with foreign countries. They are the trades with respect to which little detailed and reliable evidence has been available for our use. The bulk of the evidence which has been placed before us and upon which presumably my colleagues draw their conclusions is in respect of better organised trades, for which, admittedly, no case has been made out for the establishment of one and the same national and hard and fast minimum rate. The proper policy to adopt, in my judgment, for dealing with the trades that are not covered or are not about to be covered by any of the existing satisfactory means for the settlement of wages' questions is to extend and develop the machinery which has been found in practice to provide a sound and satisfactory solution of the rates to be fixed for the different trades. The case of the agriculture worker in England and Wales is covered by the decisions of the Agricultural Wages Board.

15. I therefore recommend—

- (a) The extension, where practicable, of the schemes of Whitley Councils and Trade Boards in those industries, trades and industrial callings (excluding agriculture) in which they are not now in existence, or in which no mutually arranged schemes for dealing with wages' questions are in existence.
- (b) The continuation of the scheme of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, under which the Minister of Labour may, after due enquiry by a competent tribunal, prescribe what wages shall be paid in any particular industry, trade or industrial calling in which no Whitley Council or Trade Board or no statutory or mutually arranged scheme for dealing with wages' questions exists.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

16. I hesitate to subscribe to the recommendation (*see p. 7, ante*) as to mothers' pensions for widows and deserted wives with children and for wives with children of men physically or mentally disabled. I agree that widows and wives with children in necessitous circumstances should be maintained at the public expense, but the subject is one somewhat removed from the scope of our enquiry. Any recommendation, to be of value, should be preceded by a careful enquiry as to the real need for such a scheme, the annual cost and how far (if at all) the existing law has failed. No satisfactory evidence of this nature was, in my opinion, before us. The example of the United States (referred to at *p. 79, ante*) is not of much assistance in this connection, the local laws of the two countries for the maintenance of persons in straitened circumstances being essentially different.

April 30, 1919.

WILLIAM W. MACKENZIE.